The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME XX APRIL, 1946 NUMBER TWO

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL 90

JUNG-STILLING AND THE MENNONITES 91
Elizabeth Horsch Bender

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AND PRACTICES OF THE OLD ORDER AMISH OF LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA (CONCLUDED) 98
Jane C. Getz

ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS 128
Silas Hertzler

BOOK REVIEWS 139

C. Z. Mast and Robert E. Simpson, *Annals of the Conestoga Valley.*
Reviewed by Grant Stoltzfus

A. W. Climenhaga, *History of the Brethren in Christ Church.*
Reviewed by C. Henry Smith

J. W. Kliewer, *Memoirs of J. W. Kliewer: or from Herdboy to College President.*
Reviewed by Melvin Gingerich

EDITORIAL

PIETISTIC INFLUENCE ON THE MENNONITES OF EUROPE WAS strongest in the Palatinate. There it was marked and long continued. The closeness of the relationship between the two movements is well illustrated in the person of the noted pietistic writer Jung-Stilling (1740-1817), a close friend of Mennonite ministers and a warm admirer of the group, who used some Mennonite material in his writings. Elizabeth Horsch Bender's article on "Jung-Stilling and the Mennonites" in this issue reports all that is known on the subject.

THE SECOND INSTALMENT OF JANE GETZ'S AMISH STUDY deals primarily with the Amish family in the economic pattern, together with mutual aid attitudes and activities. Seldom has the strength of the Amish family and its key place in Amish culture been set forth so clearly and in such detail. Here, as in the earlier instalment, one of the chief virtues of Miss Getz's study is evident in that her report is based on authentic first-hand observation by a trained sociologist and on self-testimonies by typical Amish individuals. If one grants the validity of the Amish purpose, that of perpetuating unchanged the historic Amish religio-social culture, it must be conceded that the Amish group, although wholly without the benefit of learning and science, has been brilliant in the discovery and application of the techniques necessary for the attainment of this purpose in the face of great pressure from the environment. "Liberal" Mennonites would do well to learn some lessons from the Amish.

THE ANNUAL REPORT ON ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS and colleges prepared by Dr. Silas Hertzler, appears in this issue for the academic year 1944-45.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XX No. 2

JUNG-STILLING AND THE MENNONITES

Elizabeth Horsch Bender

In the century following the appearance of *Simplicissimus* in 1669, no major writer of German fiction concerns himself with Mennonites. There are treatments in travel literature[1] and the very important historical work of Gottfried Arnold,[2] both, however, outside the scope of a discussion of Mennonites in *belles lettres*. Goethe casually uses the simile, "sittig, wie ein Mennonist,"[3] which in spite of its negative setting reveals his acquaintance with at least the traditional aspect of Mennonite character. The reference is nevertheless merely incidental. The only writer of fiction in the eighteenth century who was at all broadly concerned

[1] A survey covering much of this literature is found in Schowalter, "Bibliographie," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mennoniten* (1938) p. 36f. Among the important persons writing their impressions of the Mennonites during this century are the following: In personal letters, Spinoza and Tersteegen; in diaries, Lavater and Pfeffel; in travel sketches, Albrecht v. Haller. Spinoza had his works published in a Dutch edition by a Mennonite friend in Amsterdam when other publishers were afraid to undertake it. Tersteegen preached frequently from the Mennonite pulpit in Krefeld; the other churches of the city were closed to him. There is also French travel literature describing the Mennonites of Alsace as conspicuously progressive and successful farmers. Correll, in his *Schweizeriche Täufermennonitentum,* refers to a French almanac published in 1813, bearing the title *L'Anabaptiste, ou le cultivateur per experience, Almanach Nouveau, pour l'an* 1813, *Par Jacques Elopfenstein.*

[2] See Christian Neff, "Arnold, Gottfried," in *Menn. Lex.,* Vol. II, 85f.

[3] Goethe *An Friederike Oeser,* Nov. 6, 1768

. . .
Bald still, wie ein Hypochondrist,
Und sittig, wie ein Mennonist,
Und folgsam, wie ein gutes Lamm.

with them was the Pietist Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling. (1740-1817). Personally well acquainted with the Mennonites in southwestern Germany, especially in the Palatinate, he took for granted that his readers would understand his sometimes casual reference to them. In a century which merely tolerated them, his attitude is invariably generous and often enthusiastic in spite of the fact that he has much to say against fanaticism and separatism in general.

Jung-Stilling's basic tolerance was the natural consequence of his own early religious experience, which was of a distinctly pietistic type. He interpreted every phase of his long and interesting life from the point of view of this religious orientation. Goethe was impressed by the type of personality this absolute dependence on religion produced. It was not at all colorless, as might be expected, but on the contrary, it was quite fearless and independent of the judgment of his contemporaries.

Among the scholarly influences on Jung-Stilling's attitude toward this group of separatists must be mentioned the historian Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714), whom Jung-Stilling frequently cites.[4] Arnold went conscientiously to the original sources as far as they were accessible. Furthermore, he drew not only from the official chroniclers of the Reformation period, who were usually hostile to the Anabaptists, but also from the Anabaptists' own statements.[5] Arnold's defence of the Anabaptists confirmed Jung-Stilling's own independently favorable attitude toward them.

In addition to this literary and historical acquaintance, Jung-Stilling came in personal contact with many individual Mennonites. While he was Professor of Cameralistic Science[6] at Kaiserslautern (1777-1787), he was at the center of a Mennonite settlement, and in his lectures spoke very highly of their efficient farming methods as well as their industry and integrity. On his study tours he naturally found his way into their homes and model farms.[7] In

[4] J. Stecher, *Jung-Stilling als Schriftsteller* (Berlin, 1913) 183.

[5] *Menn. Lex., loc. cit.*

[6] Dr. Ernst H. Correll, of the American University, Washington, D. C., in a private letter supplies the following description of Cameralistic Science: "In a letter to Lerse March 6, 1780, from Kaiserslautern, Jung-Stilling writes: 'Ich lehre Landwirtschaft, Technologie, Handlungswissenschaft, Forstwissenschaft und Vircharzeny,'—These and other related subjects, including administrative practice and theory, were classified 'Kameralwissenschaft.' 'Nationalökonomie' is its modern equivalent."

[7] Ernst H. Correll, *Das schweizerische Täufermennonitentum* (Chapter VI, "Die mennonitische Musterwirtschaft"), 122, quotes from J. H. Jung, "Vorlesungen der kurpfälzisch.—physikal. ökonom. Gesellschaft," Mannheim, 1735: "Was durch die Landwirtschaft möglich sei, das beweist Kleinjogg in der Schweiz und noch erhabener, wichtiger und belehrender unser pfälzischer und vielleicht des heiligen römischen Reiches Erzbauer, der ehrwürdige Möllinger zu Monsheim. Eine wohlgeordnetere, ergiebigere, gesegnetere Landwirschaft lässt sich nicht denken. . . . Jeder lehr-

the *"Stammbuch"* of David Möllinger (the grandson of a Mennonite immigrant from Switzerland) under the date of 1765 are two inscriptions by Jung-Stilling showing a warm personal friendship.[8] Some of Jung-Stilling's letters to the Mennonites of this community have been preserved,[9] which corroborate a statement of Goethe about Jung-Stilling's absolute dependence on Providence in the charming description contained in *Dichtung und Wahrheit.*[10]

On the other hand the influence of Jung-Stilling's Pietism was marked among the Mennonites, especially in connection with the spread of pietistic literature among them.[11] A hymn by Jung-Stilling found its way into the hymnal of the South German Men-

begierige Jüngling reise in Möllinger's Schule, denn auch seine häusliche Einrichtung und Lebensart ist wohl das höchste Ideal landwirtschaftlicher Glückseligkeit. . . ." For Möllinger's specific contributions to the science of agriculture, see *Ibid.*, pp. 116 and 122; also Neff, "Möllinger," *Menn. Lex.*, III, 132f.

[8] Correll, *op. cit.*, 126. "Freund Möllinger! hier kann ich keine Verse machen, denn mein Herz ist zu voll von Dank gegen unseren himmlischen Vater, zu voll von Wonne um Reime zu denken; Möllinger und Stilling, zween Brüder, die der Herr aus dem Staub erhob, sollen lauter Dank und Preis sein gegen ihren Schöpfer und Erhalter, letzterer unterschreibt sich mit seinem Namen also Möllingers Bruder, Dr. Joh. Heinr. Jung, Kurfürstl. Hofrat und Professor in Heidelberg, Monsheim, 2. Mai 1785." The other was written by Jung-Stilling in the name of his deceased wife, and is in the article by Christian Neff, "Jung-Stilling" in *Menn. Lex.*, II, 447: "Gewiss der Mensch lebt nicht vergebens, der stets die Absicht seines Lebens und sich und seine Pflichten kennt. Zum Andenken an Salome Jung, geborene von St. Georgen." In the "Stammbuch" of the grandson of David Möllinger are found two further inscriptions by Jung-Stilling and his wife under the date of 1783, when the young David Möllinger was a student at Marburg. Jung-Stilling's follows: "Ein ruhiger, fester und stiller Gang durch diese Leben schütz den Wanderer gegen Straucheln und Fallen. Blicke mit hellem prüfenden Auge auf das, was Dich umgibt. Eigne Dir und jedem Ding das Schöne und Gute zu, wie die Biene aus der Blume den Honig saugt. So wird Dein Geist am Rande des Grabes mit Güte und Schönheit erfüllt gottähnlich, verklärt aufsteigen zum Urquell des Lichts und der Wahrheit. Zum Andenken von Ihrem Lehrer und Freund, Dr. Johann Heinrich Jung, Professor der Staatswissenschaft." Walter Follmann, in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter,* Herausgegeben vom Mennonitischen Gescichtsverein, Weierhof (Pfalz), I (November, 1936), 51f.

[9] In a letter dated April 7, 1811, written to the Mennonite Johannes Risser at Friedelsheim bei Worms we find these characteristic passages: "Mein teuerster und innigst geliebter Bruder! Mit inniger Rührung empfing ich die 12 Gulden 27 Kr. Der Herr wolle und wird den teuren Seelen diese Wohltat zeitlich und reichlich vergelten. Es ist zum Anbäten, wie nur der Herr allemal zur rechten Zeit colche Hülfen zuschickt. Allemal empfange ich aber solche Gaben mit tiefer Beugung, nicht aus Stolz, sondern weil ich wünsche niemand lästig zu sein. . . . Ich soll dem Herrn auch darinnen ähnlich werden: Denn auch Er wurde von Freunden und Freundinnen unterstützt. . . . Sie fragen mich, teurer Bruder! ob Sie oder Ihr Bruder zur Landwehr gehen müssen, wenn Sie dazu aufgefordert würden?—Sie entscheiden aber auch zugleich, indem Sie schreiben, Sie liessen sich in Keinem Fall dazu zwingen. folglich bedürfen Sie meines Rats nicht. Sie gehören zur Mennoniten Gemeine, Sie dürfen also nicht Soldat werden und müssen Ihren Grundsätzen so lang getreu bleiben, bis Sie eines andern ueberzeugt sind. . . . Sie wünschen auch alle meine Schriften zu wissen, die Ihnen nützlich sein könnten. Jetzt hab ich keine Zeit sie Ihnen alle namhaft zu machen, erinnern Sie mich ein andermal daran." Three letters containing other relevant material and including the letter to Risser, are printed in the article, "Jung-Stilling über Menno Simons," by Dr. Chr. Neff, in *Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender,* Kaiserslautern (a Mennonite publication), 1937, 49-53.

[10] Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit,* Part II, Book 9.

[11] Neff, "Jung-Stilling," *loc. cit.*

nonites,[12] and his works were widely read by various Mennonite groups. Some of the Mennonites in Russia were so impressed by his description in *Heimweh* (to some extent also by other similar literature) of an imaginary oriental theocracy near the Aral Sea that they founded a colony there, expecting to find in it the refuge from the antichrist pictured allegorically by Jung-Stilling.[13]

In his autobiography, *Heinrich Jung-Stillings Jugend,* he relates that he worked as a journeyman for a tailor named Isaak, who was doubtless the Swiss Mennonite immigrant Johann Jakob Becker, and that he enjoyed his association in the community. He says:

Das war nun Stilling eine Seelenfreude, so viele rechtschaffene Menschen kennen zu lernen: besonders gefiel es ihm, dass alle diese Leute nichts Enthusiastisches hatten, sondern bloss Liebe gegen Gott und Menschen auszuüben, im Leben und Wandel ihrem Haupte Christo nachzuahmen suchten. Dieses kam mit Stillings Religionssystem völlig überein und daher verband er sich mit allen diesen Leuten zur Bruderschaft und aufrichtigen Liebe. . . . Diese Lebensart . . . bereitete ihn immer mehr und mehr zu dem, was Gott aus ihm machen wollte.[14]

Jung-Stilling's *Taschenbuch für die Freunde des Christentums* for 1813 contains a short biography of Menno Simons, the great Mennonite leader of the sixteenth century in Holland and North Germany:[15]

Seine Grundsätze, die noch in unseren Zeiten in allen Gemeinden der Mennoniten bekannt, gelehrt und ausgeübt werden, bezeugen, dass sie wahrhaft christlich und evangelisch sind. . . Es ist wahrlich einmal Zeit, dass man die alten papiernen Sectenwände . . . wegräumt. Die Ängstlichkeit, womit man zur Zeit der Reformation die Wahrheit suchte und zu sehr an Worten hing, verursachte die traurige Trennung zwischen Lutheranern und Reformirten. . . . Es wäre auch keine Trennung entstanden wenn man bedacht hätte, dass die Kndertaufe nicht in der Bibel befohlen, sondern von Menschen nach und nach eingeführt wurde; doch gab es immer Viele, die sich erst im reifen Alter oder gar auf dem Sterbebette taufen liessen, bis endlich die Kirche das Gesetz machte, dass die Kinder in den

[12] *Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen und häuslichen Gebrauch in Evangelischen Mennoniten-Gemeinden,* Herausgegeben von den süddeutschen Mennoniten zu Ludwigshafen a. Rh., 1910, No. 170, "Vater deines Geistes Wehen."

[13] The article "Asien" in *Menn. Lex.,* I, 88f. tells the story of the unfortunate trek in search of the kingdom of peace. This is one of the few incidents of chiliasm among the Mennonites. Also Franz Bartsch, *Unser Auszug nach Mittelasien* (Halbstadt, Russia, 1907), 8: "Das Lesen Jung, gen. Stillingscher Schriften, z. B. seines *Heimweh* hatte wohl den ersten Grund dazu gelegt."

[14] Jung-Stilling, Johann Heinrich, *Heinrich Stillings Wanderschaft,* Berlin und Leipzig, 1778, pp. 47-70, recounts the kindness he experienced at the hands of Isaak. See also *Mennonitische Blätter,* XXXIX (1892), 139, and *Menn. Lex.,* II, 684. A letter dated May 29, 1797, to Becker is published in the *Mennonitische Jugendwarte,* XVIII, 34. See footnote 21 below.

[15] *Taschenbuch für Freunde des Christenthums. Auf das Jahr nach Christi* 1813, Nürnberg.

ersten Tagen nach der Geburt getauft werden müssten. . . . Dass die Mennoniten gewöhnlich keine studierten Prediger haben, hat dem Religionsunterricht seit . . . dreihundert Jahren keinen Schaden getan, denn sie sind durchgehends in den Glaubenswahrheiten ebenso gegründet als wir Protestanten. Dass ihr Ja und Nein ein wahrer Eidschwur sei (das heisst zuverlässig als ein Eidschwur), wird der Sachverständige leicht einsehen, und mit den Kriegsdiensten würde es sich von selbst schicken, wenn einmal ein sich selbst schützender Staat aus lauter Mennoniten besünde."

The Mennonites of that time as well as all the present American Mennonites would protest against the last sentence with considerable warmth; nevertheless the kindness and fairness of attitude are obvious.[16]

This kindly attitude is maintained by Jung-Stilling in his allegorical novel *Heimweh* (1794), which uses the story of a great oriental monarch as the vehicle for a theme similar to that of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.*

A great oriental monarch rules over all Europe and Asia, but in Europe his reign is endangered by a secret movement of opposition originating in France. His followers have also organized a secret organization (strongly suggestive of the early phase of European Masonry) and are known as "pelsenmänner." The "Heimweh" is the yearning of all the members of this association to reach the final kingdom of peace in the East. Eugenius, the protagonist of the novel, is reared for this cause by very religious parents, and in the course of the story ultimately becomes a sort of "crown prince" in the kingdom.

In the opening scene the parents and Eugenius, while discussing their pastor, mention an episode concerning the Mennonites that Jung-Stilling witnessed while he was teaching at Kaiserslautern.

[16] Dr. Ernst H. Correll suggests that this interpretation of the passage quoted may not be what Jung-Stilling meant. In a private letter Dr. Correll quotes from Dr. Reuter, *Joh. Heinr. Jung gen. Stilling als Staatswirschaftler,* Diss. Giessen (1927), the following summary from Jung-Stilling's *Grundlehre der Staatswirtschaft* (1792): "Im übrigen ist der Staat eine gottgewollte Einrichtung, alle Obrigkeit ist von Gott. Gefällt es dem Menschen nicht in einem Staate, widersprechen die Gesetze, zum Beispiel die allgemeine Wehrpflicht, seinem Gewissen, so hat er nicht gegen die Gesetze zu rebellieren, zondern entweder in ein anderes Land zu ziehen, wo sein Gewissn nicht beengt wird, oder aber dem Verlangen der Obrigkeit zu folgen. . . ." More specifically Dr. Correll writes: "As a matter of fact, Jung-Stilling likes to think of 'ideal states,' e.g., a democratic system can in his opinion exist only 'in einem kleinen Ländchen, das aus lauter Bauern besteht, wie in den kleinen Kantons in der Schweiz, da lässt sie "die Demokratie" sich denken, aber nirgends anders.' (Jung-Stilling, *Ibid.,* p. 885)." In such a state, composed entirely of Mennonites, "würde es sich mit den Kriegsdiensten von selbst schicken," i.e., the obligation to bear arms would "drop out," for there would be no "Regent" with his "Schutzgeschäft," engaging in foreign wars. " 'Der Regent hat zwei Hauptpflichten: 1. sein Volk zu schützen und 2. es zu beglücken. Das Schutzgeschäft besteht gegen die suswärtigen Feinde im Krieg und zur Handhabung der inneren Ruhe in der Ausübung der Gerechtigkeitspflicht.' Jung-Stilling, *Ibid.,* chapter XXI, Quoted by Reuter, *Ibid.,* 13."

Und nun liebe Eltern! beständige Verfolgung vom Consistorium;—gestern bekam er einen derben Verweis: er soll sich verantworten, warum er eine Mennonitenfrau auf dem Kirchhof habe begraben lassen, und noch selber mit zur Leiche gegangen sei?—und doch ist ihm so etwas nie verboten worden.[17]

In the instance to which he refers here, the corpse was exhumed and buried outside the cemetery walls fourteen days later, with the warning to the public, "Dass es so allen genau gehen werde, die nicht zu den 3 Religionen gehören."[18] Not only Jung-Stilling, but also a number of other citizens, protested this fact of intolerance on the part of the (Catholic) state church of that territory.

Eugenius begins his journey to the East according to careful instructions, accompanied by his servant, Hans Ehrlich. They have many adventures, all of which are in the original plan and serve to teach them the lessons they need. He becomes engaged to Urania Sophia von Edang (according to the *Key*,[19] "Himmlische Weisheit und Gnade"). Jung-Stilling pays a tribute to the Swiss Mennonite manner of life by having Eugenius meet his bride-to-be in a Mennonite home, where he also receives his most impressive lesson on faith.

Urania lives temporarily (for actually she is the daughter of the monarch) in "einem sehr altfränkischen Bauernhaus mit Stallung und Scheuern."[20] Eugenius says:

Ich trat in eine ziemlich räumliche, sehr reinliche, niedrige, und mit kleinen, hochstehenden Fenstern versehene Bauernstube. Bei dem grossen viereckigen Ofen sass ein ältlicher Mann mit einem langen kastanienbraunen Bart. Aber bei dem Woll-Spinnrad mitten in der Stube sass ein Mädchen von griechischem Wuchs, sehr Bäurisch, aber sehr reinlich und versichtig gekleidet; ihr Gesicht war in Dämmerung gehüllt, aber ich ahnete eine erhabene Schönheit. Es war eine Schweizerisch-Mennonitische Familie.[20]

This peasant also belongs to the society of the "homesick." The corresponding passage from the *Key* says in explanation:

Die himmlische Wahrheit und ihr Pflegevater, der seligmachende Glaube, wohnen nicht im Geräusch der Welt, sie ziehen sich wegen der Nachstellungen des Geistes unserer Zeit in die Wüste zurück wo sie im Stillen wirken;

[17] *Johann Heinrich Jung's genannt Stilling, sämmtliche Werke,* (Stuttgart, 1841) IV, 7f.

[18] Christian Neff, article, "Was uns die Akten des Karlsruher Generallandes-Archivs über das Begräbnis der Mennoniten in der Kurpfalz im 18. Jahrhundert erzählen," in *Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender,* 1909, 63-78, contains the extensive correspondence between local authorities and the Prince on this case.—The outcome was that the Mennonite dead should continue to be buried outside the cemetery walls. The French Revolution, however, brought the Mennonites equality before the law.

[19] Jung-Stilling, *op. cit.* V, 345.

[20] Jung-Stilling, *op. cit.* IV, 665.

. . . das Einfache. Stille und Ländliche ist dem Glauben und der Wahrheit zuträglich. . . . Ich wählte darum das Bild einer schweizerisch wiedertäuferischen Familie, weil es, wahrlich! das passendste unter allen ist.[21]

In the enormous mass of biographical material contained in the allegory Jung-Stilling relates an episode concerning a certain pastor, who, being falsely accused of gross moral misconduct, refused to take the only course that could bring him justice; *viz.*, to testify under oath in court against the character of the maid who had made the charge against him. "Gegen die Magd einen Eid abzulegen, das war ihm äusserst zuwider, besonders da er über diesen Punkt ziemlich mennonistisch dachte."[22]

While on the one hand Jung-Stilling shows genuine appreciation of certain aspects of Mennonite faith and life, on the other he makes somewhat questionable use of their reputation for pacifism. In order to raise necessary troops on one occasion, Eugenius

pachtete also ein Gut, und unter dem Incognito eines friedlichen Wiedertäufers . . . lebten wir nicht allein ruhig und ungestört, sondern wir semmelten auch insgeheim und unvermerkt eine grosse Anzahl sehr würdiger Männer, die wir unserm König zuwiesen.[23]

In spite of his continued admiration for the Mennonite way of life, Jung-Stilling's own religious and ethical views apparently remained uninfluenced by them. He recognized clearly and pictured accurately the essential character of Mennonitism as a simple, somewhat austere piety, rather than the emotional Pietism toward which he himself tended. He recognized Mennonite nonresistance but without fully understanding it. In spite of these differences, Jung-Stilling and the Mennonites recognized and appreciated in each other the sincere attempt to live each according to his own understanding of Christian faith and ethics.

[21] Jung-Stilling, *op. cit.* V., 345. It is thought that Jung-Stilling is here describing the home of Johann Jakob Becker, the "Meister Isaak" with whom he stayed as a journeyman tailor in 1762 in Radevormwald. Christian Neff, in his article "Jung-Stilling" in the *Mennonitische Jugendwarte,* Ludwigshafen a. Rh., states that the last stanza of the somewhat sentimental poem which concludes *Heimweh* also refers to the same man:

"Freund Isaak war's, in seiner Halle
Fand ich ein lauteres Paradies;
Da schmeckten mir die Freuden alle,
Da stieg zum Höchsten Dank und Preis,
Wir sangen ihm geweihte Lieder,
Er schaute gnädig auf uns nieder."

[22] Jung-Stilling, *op. cit.*, IV, 93f.

[23] Jung-Stilling, *op. cit.*, IV, 311f.

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AND PRACTICES OF THE OLD ORDER AMISH OF LANCASTER COUNTY, PA.

JANE C. GETZ

[Concluded]

The Family in the Economic Pattern

Religion prescribes the type of occupation which the Old Order Amish must follow and the group's experience has molded that occupation to a pattern which serves well both the economic and the spiritual man. In contrast to this clearly defined relationship, the interaction of the religious, economic, and social factors are so bound up in the family type which it has evoked that it is impossible to separate cause and effect, or even to see separately the social and economic aspects. The large labor supply operating as a family unit, the guidance of purely economic activities so as to hold the children in the group, and the economic drives to amass enough capital to set children up on farms, defy separation of the purely occupational or purely social patterns and at the same time indicate the importance of the family in the economic pattern.

Labor Supply. The Old Order Amish community is highly self-sufficient with reference to the labor supply. Migrant farm labor is unknown and there is no exchange of laborers between the northern (Plain People) and the southern (Scotch Irish) parts of Lancaster County.[60] In condemming WPA and relief there was some comment that it was harder to find people to hire nowadays but that usually outsiders did not know how to work anyway so this is not a hardship. One informant stated that the fruit growers have a standing arrangement with many nearby farmers to work part time in the orchards. All needed extra help could be secured in the neighborhood and the farmers earned extra cash when their own work was slack.[61]

There is much hiring of friends and relatives, and relationship with such laborers or tenants is very cordial. During the interviews with informants the hired hand was often present just as the wife and children. All people are considered equal in standing and many of those working for wages will later establish themselves on farms.

[60] *Ibid.*, 07-p. 4 [61] *Ibid.*, CA3-p. 2

Many farms have tenant houses. The tenant may cultivate several acres of tobacco for a share of tobacco and also help the owner in harvest time in return for having the house. Tenants may also help plant and harvest other crops of the landlord and help strip tobacco in winter.[62] The operator of the lime quarry also employs a number of tenants living in the neighborhood who at the same time are cropping tobacco and helping their landlords during harvest season, so that a tenant may also be a hired laborer. The wages paid laborers are uniform and laborers are expected to meet the standards of work imposed on the family workers.

Sentiment is strong against organization of labor.[63] Farmers believe they pay what they can afford to pay—if they paid less than prevailing wages the farmer wouldn't be able to get and keep help, if they paid more they would not last long. Local help is considered much more satisfactory because they are familiar with the work, know what work means, and don't expect privileges which owners don't enjoy themselves. Refusing to admit that a serious shortage of labor might arise, informants indicated that if local labor supply were inadequate farmers would rather plant less than to give in to outsiders who demanded privileges.[64]

Both hired and family labor is kept busy since the entire farming program is sufficiently diversified and is geared to a year-round program of work. Dr. Kollmorgen outlined the farming program of one farmer by months as follows: January—finish stripping tobacco, finish butchering, give much attention to feeding, trim trees in open winter, special attention to cows and chickens; February—haul manure when ground is frozen, sales begin and many attend, plow sod if no frost on ground, mend and grease harnesses, buy young chickens; March—haul manure when ground is frozen, plow if possible, sterilize tobacco beds, sows farrow, lambing time, sow clover and alfalfa in wheat, roll grass fields when frosts are leaving; April—finish plowing, plant potatoes as soon as possible, sow tobacco seed in beds, sow oats if to be planted,

[62] *Ibid.*, CM1-p. 10, 11

[63] Very strong opposition to labor unions stems from their independence and entrepreneural status, their opposition to joining organizations, and to their belief in hard work—with no limit on the number of hours. "Any man I hire is gonna find out who is the boss here." Wages for hired hands are considered stable and as much as the farmers can pay. On the other hand organized labor is believed to have made excessive demands for wages and hours. If industrial workers would work as hard as Amish farmers, it is felt that they would not need to organize. No cases of unfair demands with references to hours, working conditions, or wages were known. (HA8, p. 15). Moreover Amishers felt that what money is made is spent foolishly.

[64] Kollmorgen, Ms., LM1-p. 5; CM1-p. 11

prepare ground for corn planting, plant most of garden, spray apple trees; May—plant corn from first to tenth, cultivate corn and potatoes by latter part of month, finish planting garden, plant tobacco plants late in month; June—finish planting tobacco, cultivate corn (total of 4 or 5 times), cultivate and spray potatoes, (potatoes sprayed and cultivated each week for 7 or 8 weeks), first cutting of alfalfa by June 10 (second and third cutting at intervals of six weeks), cut wheat if early, cut barley two weeks before wheat; July—cultivate tobacco after each rain or once a week, hoe tobacco once early in July, cut wheat first ten days, threshing from middle of July to end of August; August—top tobacco, second cutting of tobacco, dig early potatoes; September —fill silo, cut tobacco early in month to escape frost, dig and grade potatoes, cut and shock corn, pick early apples; October—finish digging and marketing potatoes, husk corn and haul in shocks, pick winter apples; November—finish picking corn, haul in corn shocks and shred, start stripping tobacco, pick loose stones off field, do some butchering; December—strip tobacco, butcher, feed steers. During the slack winter season, the stripping of tobacco provides work; hence tobacco raising is important to prevent idle hands.[65]

The women make the clothes for all members of the family, tend the children, take care of the garden, cook and preserve the winter food supplies. During the interviews, the women and girls were doing needle work, making carpets or sewing on the family clothes. Since electric equipment, washing machines, and other household conveniences are disapproved by the Old Order Amish and since the families are large, the women obviously are fully occupied with their household duties.

The children are an important part of the labor supply. But more important, in many ways the farming operations are planned to keep the children busy and to prepare them for their adult occupation.

Training and Aiding Children. Particularly in a group which can maintain itself only by holding its young people, every effort must be exerted to keep the children satisfied with the group life. Accordingly, the Old Order Amish train the children to follow the accustomed way of life, take relatively extreme steps to control the formal education of the children, and consider it imperative to facilitate the establishment of children on their own farms.

[65] *Ibid.*, HA6-p. 9-11

Home Training. From an early age the children are assigned certain tasks and perform part of the farm work. Claiming he does not understand a neighbor's complaint that his children do not want to work, a Horse and Buggy Amisher explained: "We give our children work to do as soon as they can handle it. They see us work and want to work too. We train them to work and save by setting a good example. There's always plenty to do. Like when it's a rainy day we can sweep the barn, whitewash it, sweep down the cobwebs or curry the cows. The boys can go into the blacksmith shop and make iron rings, fix single trees or shoe the horses. (The boys shoe their own horses). Why, the work is never done, we always have plenty to do. You must be firm but kind to youngsters; if they're treated right you seldom need to punish them." During the interview the 8 year old boy, without instruction, went to the hayloft in the barn, pulled down alfalfa and gave it to the cows. This chore is a part of his daily work and he does it every evening.[66]

According to another House Amishman, a child should begin to perform small tasks when he is 4 or 5 years old and be given some responsibility at the age of 5 or 6 years; when 7 or 8 years old he should help in the garden and grow things, work with some plants and stock of his own, and be taught to tend them carefully and love them. This will naturally develop interest in such things and he will grow up to like farming. Girls should be trained similarly for homemaking. "We want our children to grow up honest and to work. That's why we want them on the farm. That's why we give them work when they are young. City people think it is awful when they see our children work. But our children are healthier and better trained than theirs. They know how to work and make a living."[67]

Since children are expected to work hard, the father is expected to intensify his farming operations to provide plenty of work for every one. As families increase, a farmer can add several cows to the herd, several acres of potatoes, or tobacco, or even start to raise tomatoes and peas. One informant was amazed when a friend had an applicant for work and found him and his brother at home with their father in the Southern part of the county. Any father who couldn't provide work for his boys on his own farm was not considered a good farmer. No such cases were known in their own area, and this responsibility of the father to provide work for his family as well as to train them properly explains why there is no surplus labor in the community.

[66] *Ibid.*, HA1-p.3 [67] *Ibid.*, HA8-p. 7, 12

BERKELEY BAPTIST DIVINITY SCHOOL
SANDFORD FLEMING LIBRARY

Formal Education. Working and making a living are the essentials—to do these, higher education is not necessary and indeed a hindrance. The failure to see learning in its wider content—as a tool of the family and group in serving its needs—has occasioned strong criticism by outsiders. With complete unanimity of opinion the Old Order Amish explain their stand both emotionally and rationally:

I don't see why they want us to send our children to these here high schools. Why we are already so far ahead of them in everything. They say our farms are the best, that's what they say. Now understand I don't want to brag on that, but that is what they say. Why then should our children go to these high schools? We take care of our own. We are not on relief. We got plenty of work to do.[68]

A six months school term is long enough and by the age of 12, 13, or 14 the child should be through the grades and quit school. Between the ages of 12 to 14 boys and girls enter manhood and womanhood and particularly during this period should be at home where they get all the education really needed for successful farming or homemaking. Between 12 and 20[69] are the crucial years when they must be trained in the routine of farming, for if they don't 'grow' into good farmers, they will never farm or farm well. It doesn't take much to ruin them in this period and they should be under the supervision of the parents to safeguard morals and also to train them in industry and useful work. It must be learned by doing, not from books. A farmer could spend a lifetime watching, studying and learning to handle the different kinds of soil on the farm. Similarly seeds, plants, animals are all different and every crop, every animal has to be watched, studied, and treated differently.[70]

A young man who has never seen a farm until he's 20 could never make up for all the time he has lost. Few good farmers have come out of high school and none out of college. There was a youngster who went through college and then started to farm. One day he was hauling hay and the hayrack upset. The youngster immediately ran into the house and got his book to learn what to do next. The book said: Unload the hay, set up the wagon and load again.[71]

High School is also a waste of time for girls, for they do not learn to cook there "and when somebody marries them they are no good." Most divorces are caused because girls can't cook and keep house; the Amish, who teach their daughters to cook and keep house, have no divorces.[72]

Schools don't provide the training which is needed and they also cause trouble. Schools make youngsters lazy, and weaken them physically and morally. When youngsters finish high school they have lost willingness to

[68] *Ibid.*, HA1-p. 4.

[69] HAH-p. 1 and HA5-p. 5 say between 10 and 14 years of age.

[70] Kollmorgen Ms., HA8-p. 8.

[71] *Ibid.*, HA5-p. 5. At least two other informants at widely separate points also related this story.

[72] *Ibid.*, HA1-p. 4.

work. All high schools do is to prepare youngsters for relief. (Of course it was always added that Amish are not on relief.) "If they want us to go on relief all they need to do is to force our children to get a higher education." High schools teach all sort of unnecessary things contradicting the Bible, such as Evolution. Other churches have learned that when they send youngsters to high school they are not inclined to join the church; moreover they have learned that those youngsters lost respect for the ways and customs of parents.[73]

Bad things go on in high schools. I've frequently passed high schools at eight o'clock in the evening and seen lights burning in the school and cars parked out front.[74]

Several girls in the East Lancaster High Schools got into trouble. Each year numerous girls get into trouble and have to quit school. 36,000 girls get into trouble every year in the high schools of this country. In high schools they have dances—and even teach dances—and movies. Also they have showers and rest rooms in high schools and they can't lock the doors because of fire regulations. Why should they have rest rooms in these schools?[75]

Thus have the House Amish expressed themselves. Additional support of their beliefs is explained through three supplementary reasons not specifically mentioned by informants. (1) The child belongs first to God, second to the church, third to the parents, (who need his help on the farm more than he needs an education) and, last, to the state. On this basis religion and the family have prior claims over the state and should decide what education he is to have rather than the state forcing him to attend public schools. (2) If children are to attend school the most important lessons are those connected with religion; the public schools ignore this. In this connection it is interesting to note an article written in 1934 in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* dealing with the "The Menace of Bibleless Schools"[76] (3) The practice of lay leadership has never encouraged the development of highly educated ministers and lay leaders. This, in turn, helps to perpetuate the idea that education is not important for the maintenance of their religious life, the most important function of the group life.

In the objective analysis of a culture, education may not appear to belong among the economic components. Notwithstanding, the significant fact is that the Old Order Amish do consider education primarily from that angle. A clear understanding of

[73] *Ibid.*, HA2-p. 2; HA4-p. 1, 2; CM1-p. 1.

[74] *Ibid.*, HA2-p. 3.

[75] *Ibid.*, HA1-p. 4.

[76] Clarence H. Benson, "The Menace of Bibleless Schools, "*Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 8:51 (April, 1934).

their beliefs can be gained only by grasping their frame of reference and not seeing education as an isolated factor. Reduced to the minimal essentials, training of children is to prepare them for the life of the parents—a strongly religious, rural, primary group life which elevates the virtues of agricultural success through following the Bible and hard work. For such a life, book learning cannot be substituted for home training by example and close supervision. In addition the concomitants of higher education are so foreign to the entire group culture that only a disintegrated personality could result from forcing an Amish child to attend modern public schools and at the same time live in the group of which he is a part. The Amish stand is unequivocal on this point for their own people. They wish to be able to follow their own beliefs but are absolutely willing for others to have equal freedom in deciding upon the issue.

The other Plain People in Lancaster County expressed views varying from those similar to the Old Order Amish stand to favoring practical education for children. An Old Order Mennonite, who took a leading part in the school controversy and has read many books dealing with religion and the Mennonites, believed essentially as the Old Order Amish do. He was anxious to make clear that education should be available for those who want it but not forced on the Plain People. He claimed his grandfather had educated himself to be an astronomical surveyor and originated the revolving cylinder in what became the Colt Automatic Revolver.[77]

A liberal Mennonite favored practical education and realized that not everyone can be a farmer but believed higher education (beyond the age of 14) is a great threat to the farming tradition of the family. In general he supported the Horse and Buggy Amish viewpoint. Another, who made specific criticisms of centralized authority over schools, methods of teaching, and extracurricular activities, and disapproved of education as an ornament or for cultural purposes, had taken a business course, and his wife had attended high school. He would like to send his sons to high school—for practical or vocational courses—and believed that in summer and before and after school he can train them in farming and prevent laziness. He believed college training is essential for research men in agriculture, county agents, and other professional men, but not for real farmers. One, who had completed two years of high school, favored school to the age of 18 if the

[77] *Ibid.*, CM1-p. 1, 2

teachers have the farmers' viewpoint, i.e., their viewpoint. He is still concerned about extra-curricular activities and teaching of evolution, and indicated that the Mennonites had considered building their own high school so that they could prevent such teaching.[78] (A Mennonite High School was established near Lancaster City in 1943.)

A Church Amish man and his wife favored a business course for their son, but he wanted to farm. The wife opposed higher education for the daughters, and distrusted high school and college. The husband has served on the local school board and distrusts city girls as teachers who haven't learned to work, build a fire, and keep the school clean and attractive. The son of another is sending his son to business school in Lancaster and wants him to handle the business end of the family fruit business.[79]

Establishing children on farms in addition to emphasizing the training of youngsters for their adult occupations, Old Order Amish parents attempt to aid their children in becoming established on farms. It is not uncommon for sons to work for neighboring farmers as hired laborers or to operate several acres on shares from their parents or relatives. In the latter case the land has usually been put in tobacco which has brought good returns. The decreasing returns from tobacco are making it increasingly hard for young people to accumulate quickly the cash needed to become owners.

Parents or relatives usually provide seed and fertilizer without charging for them. Moreover they may share or give stock and machinery to the children and thus make it much easier for them to become owners. However there was some feeling that families are not able to hand down as much wealth as previously, and land prices in the community have become very high. Thus, it may be becoming increasingly difficult to climb from the status of tenant or laborer to owner.[80]

According to a House Amish informant, the children do not raise things for themselves and sell them because it is feared this might lead to squandering. On the contrary a Church Amish farmer said that youngsters frequently tend a few chickens, some hogs and a calf, and when they are marketed the money is placed in the bank for them. He also says children may be paid for certain chores or raise a patch of tobacco, and girls may hire out to do domestic work, tend children, or take care of sick people. According to him some parents return the children's earnings when they are

[78] *Ibid.*, CM2-p. 2, 3, LM3-p. 9, LM1-p. 1, 2, CAH-p. 1, CA3-p. 1.
[79] *Ibid.*, CAH-p. 1, CA3-p. 1.
[80] *Ibid.*, 06-p. 5; 08-p. 2.

16, although it is more common to give them the money when they marry or at the age of 21.[81] It was said that most young men have saved up $300 to $1,000 by the time they get married. Whether or not the girls have savings in their own name, the parents of a bride usually provide all essential household equipment.[81] Although it is not common in a patriarchal family system to recognize the earnings of children as their personal savings, this practice harmonizes with the general thriftiness, encouraging children to prepare for their adult occupation, and the large outlay necessary to establish children on farms.

At the time of marriage, usually 20-21 years of age or younger, the father makes every effort to provide a farm for his sons and to help them get started. Any one of the children may inherit the home farm. Very often the youngest son gets it, for if possible the older sons are established on farms of their own when they get married. One House Amish informant's son, who is married, occupies a farm which the daughter-in-law (only child) will inherit, and the father has borrowed money in the community to purchase a farm about a mile away which his second married son rents from him on shares. Of the two sons of a Church Amish informant the older has just bought a farm near Lebanon and the younger will take over the home place; there are also five daughters.

A Liberal Mennonite occupies a farm which has been handed down in his family since colonial times. Another is the eighth generation to live in the same neighborhood and his farm has been owned by the family almost continuously. Is it because they are less attached to the land and feel their children may leave that only liberal Mennonites specifically mentioned being on the same farms since colonial days?

All eight children of one Church Amishman live on the family farm of 135 acres which can support them all because 80 acres are in fruit orchards (apple & peach) and only 40 acres are devoted to general farming. From time to time the size of the orchard has been expanded to accommodate additional members of the family.

Grandparents. Just as the children are encouraged to assume responsibilities on the farm or in the home the old folks are, by custom, held in the group after they are ready to give up active operation of the farm. As would be expected they remain in the country and do not go to towns or cities. They usually remain

[81] *Ibid.*, HA1-p. 6; CA4-p. 7

on the home place which is most likely being farmed by the youngest son. When the latter gets married and is ready to farm on his own the parents move into what is known as Grand Daddy's house or the "Grossdaddy" house. The "Grossdaddy" house may be a separate house or a section of the house which has at one time been added to a former structure. The man who operates the lime quarry, for example, is aged 67 and has retired from farming; his son now owns the farm and the parents live in a separate part of the house. Another's son rents the farm from the father (aged 60) who lives in a separate portion of the same house. The son feels quite sure he will inherit the farm since the only other children are two sisters who are married to established Amish farm owners.

Grand Daddy's house is fully equipped and essentially a separate house or unit. The parents prepare their own meals and live partly to themselves and partly with the young family. Depending on how active they are, the old folks may or may not have separate gardens, flocks of chickens, cows, and horses. They may receive eggs, milk, and vegetables in return for certain chores which they perform, for there is plenty they can do on the farm or in caring for the children. Many do not assume any responsibilities and buy what they need from the children. Those who are better off deal with their children very largely on a financial basis and are not a burden.

The grandmother, in particular, spends much of her time with the grandchildren. In addition to helping care for them she often may spend much time teaching them to read German. The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is very cordial.

Thus, the economic life of the Old Order Amish utilizes appropriately the abilities of all group members from the youngest to the oldest. The family is still a producing unit which gains stability through economic unity and self-sufficiency.

In turn the family assumes special responsibilities for training children and establishing them on farms as well as for the security of older members, socially and financially. Although there may be some opposing trends, the family is still producing and preserving the food supply, making the clothes and similar household equipment, assuming responsibility for training the children and positively satisfying their needs for security, recognition, and response by assigning them appropriate responsibilities. The strong family group is, thus, an integral part of the economic organization. In turn the continued satisfactory economic adjustments strengthen the family pattern.

Cooperation and Mutual Aid

The Old Order Amish religion not only prescribes the type of economic activity which members should follow but also provides the framework for a system of cooperation and mutual aid which at a very early period proved its value and is still operative. The religious principles of brotherly love and a truly cooperative spirit in economic affairs have proved more effective in developing a practical community cooperation than do most forms of institutionalized cooperation.

J. Winfield Fretz[82] sets forth eight principles of Mennonitism which provide a background for the practice of mutual aid, as follows:

1) Separation of church and state.
2) Non-participation in civil and military life.
3) Emphasis on simple life.
4) Attempt to build a community of believers.
5) Independence of outside help in setting up and disciplining their communities.
6) Bound by the spirit, not by the law.
7) A way of life based on mutual respect of fellow men.
8) Opposition to interest in money lending and the building of communities on the basis of mutual help.

The Amish and Mennonites in Pennsylvania never practiced a pure religious communism although another branch of the Anabaptists, the Hutterites, carry their Christian faith and system of brotherly love to the point that they "hold all things in common."[83] Some Russian Mennonites practice a form of close communal cooperation on a large scale.[84] Among the Old Order Amish in Lancaster County, regular farming operations are carried out by the operator and his family, and, if necessary, hired labor. For special tasks, however, many farmers help each other, and lots of good food is the only form of compensation.

Barn-raisings were most frequently mentioned by informants. The farmer engages a carpenter or contractor who lays the foundations and cuts all pieces of lumber. When everything is ready, the owner announces the barn raising event and word spreads all over the county. So many farmers come that the problem

[82] J. Winfield Fretz, "Mutual Aid Among the Mennonites," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 13:28 (January, 1939).

[83] John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren* 1528-1931 (Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1931) 4.

[84] See Fretz, *op. cit.*, p. 29

usually is too much help rather than not enough. Everybody comes for a good time and big eats. The raising consists of fetching pieces and nailing them together under the supervision of the carpenter. By evening the barn has been raised and it is not uncommon for most of the shingles to be in place.[85]

Some fifty House Amishers from Lancaster County had gone down to St. Marys County, Maryland, to help raise the barn for one of their members who had recently moved there. Since all timber had not been cut (much of it was from trees on the place) the job took two days. A negro carpenter there who was impressed with something "people down there never saw anything like before" said local farmers would have spent weeks and weeks getting a barn up. The visitors had fulfilled a dual purpose on this occasion—raising the barn and gaining helpful knowledge of the land and farming methods.[86]

In less than two days, friends and neighbors had laid the pipe and aided in installing a water system for a House Amishman. Silo fillers are sometimes owned cooperatively but even if owned individually it is common for four or five farmers to fill their silos by working together on each farm in turn. A two-silo farmer then makes a cash adjustment with a one-silo farmer because of the different amount of work involved. A House Amish informant said that quite a few threshing rigs used to be owned cooperatively but since someone had to be responsible for the machinery the burden was not distributed equally and it is now more common for a threshing rig owner to supply four men and the equipment for such work at the rate of seven cents per bushel.[87]

A Church Amish informant stated that threshing, hay-making and silo-filling are usually done cooperatively by sets of neighbors. If a few hours difference in work is required for different farms no cash settlement is made; if one-half to a whole day is involved, a cash settlement is made for the additional work. This custom has existed for his life time (aged 70). He did believe cooperative butchering and sausage-making is dying out.[88]

Helping out sick neighbors is taken for granted. A sick farmer never needs to worry about getting his work done, for neighbors simply come around and do whatever field work or other work needs to be done. This old established custom is said to be as common today as ever.[89]

[85] Kollmorgen, *Ms.*, CA2-p. 9; HA3-p. 11.
[86] *Ibid.*, HA6-p. 12. [87] *Ibid.*, HA1-p. 2; HA3-p. 11. [88] *Ibid.*, CA2-p. 8
[89] *Ibid.*, CA3-p. 12; CA2-p. 9

Insurance. The Amish early developed a type of cooperation to prevent suffering in case of fire or other damage to buildings. The House Amish plan, which is more formal than that of some of the Mennonites, covers sect members in Lancaster, and Mifflin Counties near Dover, Delaware. If a building burns down, for example, the farmer who suffered the loss appoints a man, the church appoints another man, these two men appoint a third man; the three determine loss caused by the fire. If the estimate does not "suit" the loser, he can so state and another committee is nominated in the same manner and this can be repeated as often as desired. After the accepted appraisal of loss is worked out, the deacon of the church appoints a committee of men to collect the contributions from other members in proportion to the specified valuation of their buildings. The money will be used to purchase necessary materials but labor costs are low, for, as indicated above, the farmers will also turn out to raise the barn at the proper time. The buildings do not have to be replaced exactly as it was (some groups follow this practice) but improved or changed construction plans may be used.[90]

Church Amish or Amish Mennonites have their own mutual fire insurance organization which even covers fire and theft on cars. They have a more formal organization with a board of directors and rates usually of $1.00 per $1,000 worth of property insured. It was estimated that property valued at $10,000,000 is covered by one of the local associations. Members also insure cars with regular commercial insurance companies.[91]

House Amish, of course, have no use for automobile insurance. Moreover, they also disapprove of life insurance. One informant considered it wrong that a beneficiary should get so much money for nothing. To him it is merely an example of how educated people waste their time figuring out rackets.[92]

Other aid. This attitude is based on group provision for members in need so that various types of insurance are unnecessary. Amish are not on relief or WPA because the church takes care of its own with the exception of mental cases which are taken to institutions if illness is prolonged. Such cases are often hard to handle and the members feel they are paying for such care through their taxes.[93] It is of value to note that in the case of mental patients they do rely on outside care and justify this reliance on the

[90] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 10; CA3-p. 2.
[91] *Ibid.*, CA2-p. 9; LM2-p. 9
[92] *Ibid.*, HA8, p. 18.
[93] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 9.

basis of taxpaying. Logically they could invoke the taxpaying argument if they wanted to accept other aid as well.

The local Department of Public Assistance has an understanding with Amish bishops that if any family needs aid, the case is first discussed with them. The bishop and deacons then investigate and see that the family is taken care of. In providing aid the family responsibilities are considered heaviest and only if parents, older brother, or other relatives fail to provide aid and advice does the church assess members in the form of either money, food, or clothing. The criticism is made that much advice is given with the aid, and certainly this would be expected in a closely knit primary group when the individual's problems become a group problem. Although Amish provide for all types of assistance, Mennonites in Lancaster county usually accept public assistance for long-time cases such as widows with children and defectives. Yet even these cases are discussed with the bishop prior to offering public assistance. Temporary relief cases are taken care of within the group, and sentiment is particularly strong against unemployment relief or benefits.[94]

In the past Amish have frequently aided other sect members by loaning money to them at a low rate of interest or with no interest charges. In the earliest period commercial rates of interest were extremely high and persecution allowed no outlets for investments by Anabaptists except in land. If extra money was not needed by a farmer to purchase land for his children, he would be willing to lend it to his friends. As Fretz indicates, they were on record as opposed to demanding interest for the use of money.

In Lancaster County the House Amish still borrow money from other sect members. Examples were cited that House Amish had loaned money without interest to fellow church members to purchase farms in the community. However it appears that Credit Association, Federal Land Bank, and other such loans are not available to them. Commercial and governmental credit is not available for two reasons: (1) The Amish desire to remain in the group has led to inflated land values so that they are paying $300-$400 per acre for land of which the real value is much lower, and lenders will not invest in such inflated values; (2) Chattel mortgages are relatively new in Pennsylvania (1933) and there is great reluctance even by Non-Plain People to give them;[95] the Amish in particular would refuse to make such agreements with outsiders. Since no mortgages would be recorded for transactions

[94] *Ibid.*, 07-p. 2, 3. [95] *Ibid.*, 06-p. 13.

within the group, it is not possible to determine the exact status of their borrowing and lending activities.

Although the strongest efforts to aid those who are just getting started are usually limited to family help, in some cases sect-members—as individuals, not as a group—may also aid non-relatives. A liberal Mennonite related one case:

> A young man had borrowed money to get a start, then lost his best cow and best horse, and was up against it—so that his creditors wanted to sell him out. When the problem was brought to the informant he knew that if the young man had been sold out he might never have gotten enough courage again to start for himself. Having faith in the man the informant knew the loss was simply a matter of bad luck, and instructed him to take one of his own good cows, to milk her, and she will pay for herself. Also aided him to purchase a good horse. The man is now one of the best and most prosperous farmers in the community, and one of the informant's closest and most esteemed friends. Much pleased over this experience the informant believes this help has paid him back many times over and supports his deep faith in the Golden Rule.[96]

On the other hand in spite of these aids, some members never do become so successful. One House Amish informant has a tenant who is also a member of the church. According to the owner, the tenant has not stepped up the agricultural ladder because of misfortunes in his early farming ventures and because he lacks initiative and enterprise. When properly directed he is a good worker. The tenant rents for one third and the owner furnishes all machinery, seed, and stock including twenty dairy cows; both do the same type of farming.[97]

In evaluating the mutual aid system in relation to the total culture of the group, it cannot be rated as a basic redistribution of wealth technique which effectively levels off both extreme wealth and extreme poverty. Thus it is not comparable to the Hebrew Year of Jubilees.

It is interesting to note that the Scriptural reference for the Year of Jubilees seems to be one which the Amish have ignored: "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year and proclaim liberty throughout all the land. . . . and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family. . . .(Leviticus 25:10).

On the other hand, the pyramiding of misfortune which may characterize our urban economy, with high interest rates, installment buying, vested interests, large capital holdings, etc., is alleviated both by the mutual aid system and by the substitution of

[96] *Ibid.*, LM2-p. 9.
[97] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 14

religious values for accumulation of wealth *per se* as the desired goals for achievement. Thus the mutual aid system serves the group well as a protection against certain economic hazards and as a basis for economic cooperation tempering competition, but is is not a fundamental leveling force which moulds the entire economy and culture.

Contacts with the Outside World.

Markets, farmers associations, and government agriculture programs are points where the intra-group economic life of the Amish comes in contact with outsiders. Participation in farmer's organizations and in government programs for agriculture, and learning from other farmers, could lead to outside contacts, and as such, challenge the group's desire for isolation.

The (Old) Mennonite Franconia Conference has specifically forbidden membership in labor unions, farmers unions, or uniting or working with such associations as of breeders, producers of milk, etc.[98] Although expressly forbidden by the principle of the unequal yoke (i.e. membership in any group where sect members are not in a majority) a House Amish informant belongs to the Interstate Milk producers Association and to a cow-testing association; he favors organizations which help farmers to get fair prices for products. Eventually he was reprimanded for joining in the late twenties by other sect members who were opposed as they would be to any membership in outside organizations and also because of its standards—TB testing, changing barns to comply with sanitary regulations, etc. However, these standards are now being accepted as necessary even for the Lancaster market and the informant believes others would join the association if membership were now open. He appears to have no doubts that joining the association was a wise move even when violation of a strong group principle was involved. A liberal Mennonite farmer who also belongs to the Association objects that those who do not belong get as much for milk as members do.[99]

A Conservative Amishman who also markets milk in Philadelphia had refused to join the association, but failed to explain his action. When queried various times regarding prices farmers

[98] See "Rules and Discipline of the Franconia Conference of the Mennonite Church," revised July, 1933, in the "Documentary Appendix" of John C. Wenger's *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference*, published by the Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, (Telford, Pennsylvania, 1937), 429-434, under "XI. Secret Societies, etc.," 434. See also Guy F. Hershberger's searching article on "Non-Resistance and Industrial Conflict," in *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (April, 1939), 135-154.

[99] Kollmorgen Ms., HA3-p. 12; LM3-p. 2.

receive for products he had many complaints and related a story about "big three" tobacco buyers setting a price so as not to overbid each other, but evaded even rationalizing about forming organizations to get fair prices with one exception. "Oh! farmers just can't organize." He was obviously refusing to answer because church regulations were involved.[100]

A liberal Mennonite illustrates yet a different viewpoint. He belonged to a cow testing association and said he learned much as a member. However he quit because others seemed to be learning more about his cows than he knew—"at least they thought they did." He now checks on his cows by watching the yield and by noting the amount of cream on samples of milk.[101] Rugged individualism and pride appear to explain his stand rather than religious scruples.

Even among the House Amish, then, the regulations against membership in associations where the sect members are in the minority is not strictly binding today.

Old Order Amishers are not participating to any appreciable extent in governmental programs for agriculture. The House Amishman who belongs to the Milk Producers Association did not comment directly regarding participation in governmental programs but expressed general criticism of relief and WPA (competition with farm labor conditions and pay scales), importation of agricultural products (not conscious of any products exported), and increasing uncertainties and dependence on unstable markets because of the federal crop and stock control programs. Even a liberal Mennonite believed crop and livestock control programs were harmful to farmers because manipulation of prices and markets, according to him, mean lower prices for farmers.[102]

A House Amish farmer, who cut down his tobacco field from 5-6 acres to about four acres, does not participate in the Crop Control program because (1) More payments mean more taxes so he doesn't believe farmers gain anything; (2) the federal debt is already alarming and spending should be cut, not increased; (3) both greater debt and more regulations are speeding the country along the road to dictatorship; (4) if other people lived like the Amish and extended mutual aid when necessary they wouldn't need out-side assistance; and (5) adopting outside aid (including benefit payments) might make them subject to the draft and military service.[103] Another opposed limiting production as interfering

[100] *Ibid.*, HA7-p. 2.
[101] *Ibid.*, LM2-p. 5. [102] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 8; LM3-p. 8. [103] *Ibid.*, HA8-p. 5

with the ways of God: "Little pigs were killed to help the farmer, so it was said, and the next year we had a drought. That went together. 'Taint right to destroy food."[104]

According to the chairman of the local Agricultural Conservation program committee about 42 farms in Leacock Township participated in the ACP in 1939 and among these are a few House Amish. Members are not placed under the ban if they join, although the church is really opposed to the program. In addition to the unwillingness to sign proper papers and fear of liability for military duty he believed the tobacco companies appeal to the Plain People, on the basis of being "different" and independent, to insure a large supply of tobacco at low prices. However, he does not believe Plain People tried to profit from the restrictions by increasing their own acreage and knew of some of them who reduced acreage reluctantly, said nothing about it, and received no payments.[105] Another informant stated that during the court fight regarding the consolidated school, after an Amishman had testified repeatedly that he did not believe in the various New Deal programs, the opposition lawyer asked if he had not received benefit payments of certain amounts each year and the Amisher embarrassedly admitted he had received them.[106]

A strong objection is also raised against the Crop Control program because it pays farmers not to work. Hard work is considered by the Horse and Buggy Amish to be the main reason for their good yields and prices and a virtue in itself. Education is blamed because it makes children lazy and not willing to work. Not working hard is "wrong" *per se* and the government is spoiling farmers by giving them money for not working.[107]

The Old Order Amish may adopt improved methods whose worth has been demonstrated but refuse to participate openly in organized educational programs for farmers. For example, the Director of the Soil Conservation Program pointed out that three or four neighbors of a Church Amishman who cooperates in the ACP were clearly adopting similar programs on their own land and he believes they will be strip farming before long.[108] The County Agricultural Agent, who has been in the county twenty years, is a local boy, and sees numerous Amish everyday, said that he had learned to know only one Amishman who really trusts and confides in him. The Home Demonstration Agent was quite vehement in saying that the farmers' wives in Leacock Township

[104] Ibid., CA4-p. 4 [105] *Ibid.*, 08-p. 1 [106] *Ibid.*, 02-p. 3, 4
[107] *Ibid.*, HA4-p. 2 [108] *Ibid.*, 05-p. 2

gave her no cooperation whatever. A Church Amishman with a drainage problem had consulted the County Agent and former friends and then followed the plan suggested by an Iowa farmer; he was pleased that he had used this method, which works perfectly, rather than the one suggested by the County Agent. However the County Agent in St. Marys County, Maryland, said the Amish had invited him to help them get adjusted in their new farming program and wanted him to set aside a day and have him speak to them as a group.[109] Perhaps the awareness of different conditions and the difficulties experienced by an earlier group in this area had encouraged them to learn all they could about this locality in order to be able to follow the best farming practices.

A Church Amish informant claimed he had originated a system of planting grasses and clover in his orchard to prevent erosion, but Kollmorgen doubted if it was original with him, particularly since that farmer received numerous magazines dealing with agriculture and orchard farming. The Church Amishman who emphasized herd improvement work said that he gained a lot by reading widely on the subject; the poultry farmer also enjoys reading and receives numerous agricultural magazines. A Conservative Mennonite said he believes in experts and uses them also when necessary, but commented "a lot of trained experts are getting relief, but none of our people are on relief. We take care of our own."[110]

In view of the prohibition on having any non-religious literature, the House Amish did not appear to receive any agricultural magazines. A favorite story is that at the State College Experiment Station on numerous plots of ground various fertilizers were being used. When asked, which plot was there with good old barnyard manure and other fertilizers such as used in Lancaster county, the professor replied, "we don't carry on any experiment to try to show the Lancaster county farmer how to farm. They know as much about it as we do; in fact we learn a lot from them."

Almanacs—both in English and German—were noted in several House Amish homes. Laughter was the usual response as to whether they were used to determine the time to plant crops or to foretell the weather. "We plant things when the ground is good and ready and only then;" "Nobody can make longtime weather predictions." A minister explained he used almanacs to establish religious days and learn about proper texts for Sunday preaching.

[109] *Ibid.*, 03-p. 1, 014-p. 1; CA-p.5; 010-p. 1
[110] *Ibid.*, CA3-p. 4; CA1-p. 1; CM1-p. 2
[111] *Ibid.*, HA6-p. 8

Total Economic Picture.

Having viewed in detail several components it is possible to highlight the total economic aspects of Old Order Amish culture by comparing their agricultural success with that of other farmers and by noting the economic problems which the group must face.

Successful Farmers. Numerous writers point to the Pennsylvania Dutch or the Amish or Mennonites as successful farmers.

After discussing the achievements of Mennonite farmers in detail, C. Henry Smith has summarized their historical and present day eminence as follows:

> As we have already seen, Mennonites were invited to South Russia to serve as model farmers to the native Russian tillers of the soil. Under the leadership of such men as Johann Cornies, they transformed the barren steppes along the Black Sea into veritable gardens of plenty. They developed an agricultural economy that was the pride of the Russian government and were often visited by members of the nobility and even the royal family. Ernst Correll tells us in his interesting history of the Mennonites that in the Palatinate, Mennonites were the first to introduce what we know today as scientific farming. In America, too, Mennonites are known as among the most successful farmers in the land. Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, with a Mennonite population of some 25,000 divided into nearly 100 separate church congregations, several years ago was selected by the United States Department of Agriculture as the most prosperous agricultural county in the whole country. Undoubtedly, Mennonites are among the world's best farmers.[112]

Ralph L. Watts, Dean of the School of Agriculture and Director of the Experiment Station of the Pennsylvania State College, geographers, historians, Mennonite writers, and popular authors refer to the superior agricultural practices of the Amish and Mennonite farmers and the high rank of Lancaster County resulting from their farming methods.[113]

The House Amish subscribe heartily to the belief that theirs is the garden spot of the world. "Lancaster County has the best farms and farmers," but the informant obviously meant the Plain People, for when erosion in the southern part of the county was

[112] C. Henry Smith, "Mennonites and Culture." *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* 12:81 (April, 1938).

[113] Borland, *op. cit.,* 8; Lyman Carrier, *The Beginnings of Agriculture in America* (N. Y., 1923), 177; Ernst Correll, "Historical and Sociological Aspects of the Amish Mennonite Group" (Unpub., 1927), 3; Ellis and Evans, *op. cit.,* 335; Faust, *op. cit.,* 29; Guy F. Hershberger, "Non-Resistance and Industrial Conflict," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 13:151 (April, 1939); George Fiske Johnson, *Agriculture in Pennsylvania: A Study of Trends County and State Since* 1840, (Harrisburg, 1929), 16; Raup, *op. cit.,* 3-7; T. Russell Smith, *op. cit.* 188; Elmer C. Stauffer, "In the Pennsylvania Dutch Country," *National Geographic Magazine,* 80:37 (July, 1941); Bernice Steinfeldt, *The Amish of Lancaster County* (Lancaster, 1937), 33; Ralph L. Watts, *Rural Pennsylvania* (N. Y., 1925), 108, 153; Martin G. Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* (Scottdale, Pa., 1931), 29, 375.

mentioned the quick reply was "They aren't our kind of farmers."[114] "Why we're already so far ahead in everything. They say our farms are best, now understand I don't want to brag, but that is what they say."[115]

A Conservative Mennonite firmly believes Lancaster County had always had the reputation of being the best farming county in the country, and that the area where Plain People predominate is the best in the county. "It's the garden spot in the country, if not the world, ain't it?"[116]

Do the Old Order Amish also compare favorably with other Amish or Mennonite farmers? Sufficient data are not available for scientific study or comparison of the House Amish and other Plain People. The Mennonites who have actively supported education, schools, and research work do not closely ally themselves with the most conservative groups. In the absence of authoritative data the comments of Horse and Buggy Amish are indicative.

A House Amish farmer whose daughter married an Amishman in Indiana, has visited there and is convinced they are poorer farmers than the Amish in Lancaster County: straw is left outside; manure is not used as carefully; crops are not rotated as carefully; barns are small, not kept up so well or filled with hay; houses and farms just don't receive the careful attention of those Amish that they do in Lancaster County. The explanation as to their poorer farming was that better farmers in their group stayed in Lancaster County and intense competition from neighbors who are equally good farmers keep them to a high standard whereas poorer farmers moved west when the competition became too keen and they probably hold their own with the other farmers out there.[117]

An Iowa Amish woman who married a Lancaster County Church Amish informant pointed out that Iowa farmers cannot believe that better corn and taller corn can be grown anywhere else but that equally good or better corn was grown by her husband in Lancaster County.[118]

Amishers' Reasons for Success. If, then, the Old Order Amish are relatively well off as farmers, to what do they attribute their success and how do they explain the failure of other farmers? One significant drive to success is the justification of the religion through economic achievement. Believing that God has ordained the rural way of life and that the people who follow his precepts are favored by Him, failure to farm well would be desecration.

[114] Kollmorgen *Ms.*, HA3-p. 2. [115] *Ibid.*, HA1-p. 4 [116] *Ibid.*, CM1-p. 4
[117] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 3 [118] *Ibid.*, CA1-p. 2

To show the world that their way of life is best they must succeed economically. Although not specifically mentioned by informants this drive was implied and is undoubtedly a basic factor in their rationalization of religion. On the other hand their agricultural success is also considered a form of blessing because they follow the Bible.

Old Order Mennonites in Lancaster County approach most closely the beliefs and practices of the conservative Amish. For that reason the following comments by one of this group are probably the same as would be given by a Horse and Buggy Amisher. Little can be done to remedy poor farm and home practices in the cotton belt until people follow the Bible. Hard work and teaching them the right ways might help some, but the main thing is people will get along well only if they follow the Bible. This attitude also explains the opposition to labor unions. If the Bible were followed by employers and employees there would be no problem; if it is not followed, unions will do no good.[119]

Reiterated again and again by the Old Order Amish is their belief in hard work. The daily routine for the family is to get up between four and five in the morning, do most of the chores before breakfast (5:30 AM); between five and six everyone starts to work and continues until dinner at eleven; daily work is then resumed until supper at 4:30 PM; chores are done between four and five; if it is a busy season they may return to the fields in the evening, and bedtime is between 8:30 and 9:00 PM. "We give our children work to do, for they see us work and then they want to work too."[120]

When commended for his enterprise, hard work, and success a House Amishman was very pleased and said he was reminded of a story. A teacher in grade school had asked her pupils to write on a sheet of paper what they would like to do if they had plenty of money. One boy signed his paper and handed it to the teacher who looked at it and asked the boy if he would not like to do something if he had plenty of money. The boy replied he would like to do exactly what he had done with the paper—nothing. There are too many people in the world who feel like the little boy.[121]

The wife of one informant who was present during the interview apologized frequently for appearing lazy and for not being busy. She explained the doctor had forbidden work because of heart trouble, and will not even allow her to spend time sewing.

[119] *Ibid.*, CM1-p. 6, 13 [120] *Ibid.*, HA6-p. 6, HA1-p. 3 [121] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 15

She said it was a great trial just to sit and do nothing, for she really enjoyed working. "It's natural for us to work, we're brought up that way. When we are not up and around to work, there's always plenty of sewing to do." An Iowa-born wife agreed that people work harder here than anywhere else, and believed many work too hard, and might be undermining their health.[122]

In significant contrast, a liberal Mennonite favors mechanized equipment because it makes more leisure possible and he sees no virtue in work for work's sake.[123]

Since hard work is often given as the cause of their success, Horse and Buggy Amish believe other farmers do not do well because they do not work hard. "Farmers don't want to work no more. We work. Them people down there (cotton belt farmers) don't work. Thats the whole story. There's no secret to it. Them white people and them negroes don't work. They don't deserve any better."[124]

One who had visited St. Marys County, Maryland, noticed that those people did not work hard and were very, very slow. "Everybody just takes his time. One of the others saw a white man running a steam engine for a sawmill who talked and sat around so much that the steam got low three times." One Amishman did the work of two or three or four white men down there. They just didn't move. The negro is better than the white man though. His wife had asked a Maryland woman about her canned goods, "and she said she ain't got no canned goods. I asked, What do you eat?, and she said potatoes, meat, corn bread, and beans; Our people going down there took hundreds of quarts of canned food along as well as potatoes and meats." A story being told on every side held that even animals are slow and lazy in Maryland. Someone is supposed to have seen even a dog walking leisurely after a rabbit who was also walking leisurely.[125]

In addition to the failure to work it was noticed that Maryland farmers do not rotate crops, apply manure to land, keep a garden, etc. The reasons for their farming failures were, thus, obvious, but the Lancaster County Amish could not understand why they did not farm better. Climate and negro problem were being blamed, but it was not clearly understood just why anyone would be lazy and poor farmers like those in Maryland. The Amish are not deterred however, for they believe they can succeed because they know how to work and farm.

[122] *Ibid.*, HA5-p. 12
[123] *Ibid.*, LM3-p. 3
[124] *Ibid.*, HA4-p. 1
[125] *Ibid.*, HA6-p. 13, 17

A story is told of a southern farmer who came to Lancaster County to farm because he heard the land was good and everybody prospered. It was not long before he concluded that if he had worked as hard in the South as people did in Lancaster County he would have been just as prosperous in the South.[127]

The same criticisms are made of other Amish farmers. "The Amish in Indiana don't work hard like we do here. They think nothing of sitting down an hour or two and talk to you right when they are doing a big job. Here we just don't have time to do that." Women don't work hard either, they do less embroidery work.[128]

Failure to work hard is also blamed for many of society's ills. Relief is blamed as paying lazy people for not doing anything. Typical stories of boondoggling on WPA projects were told. "It used to be people in the neighborhood would hoe in the garden or hire out—now they are living on relief money; the people don't really need relief for there is still plenty of work they could do if they would." Those lazy people get all the money they want by going on relief and not doing anything. They don't want to work and don't know how to work anymore! "People who drive around in cars when they should be home working are the ones who get into trouble."[129]

It was believed that other farmers move to cities because they want to escape work, have shorter working hours, and for excitement and entertainment; escaping work and "have whitecollar jobs" were linked. It appears that work must be creative in a physical and manual sense. Of white collar workers it is said; "They think they work. That isn't really work."[130]

Saving is considered a cardinal virtue. Spending and wasting money is sinful. Although many writers mention their thrift, the accusation is also made that they are stingy. Among the derogatory stories told about the Amish are accounts of pinching pennies and refusing to spend money even for so-called necessities —sitting in the dark in order not to waste money on kerosene, refusal to have medical attention, etc.

A Church Amish member of a school board whose books checked but differed from the bank balance by three cents had insisted on paying the difference.[131]

Most important in this connection is the failure to spend money for automobiles, modern conveniences, clothes, house furnishings, higher education, commercial recreation, *viz.* "to keep up to

[126] *Ibid.*, HA6-p. 4 [127] *Ibid.*, CM1-p. 14 [128] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 3
[129] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 6; HA4-p. 2, 5 [130] *Ibid.*, HA8-p. 14 [131] *Ibid.*, CA4-p. 6

the Jones." The only specific luxury for which Amish might be accused of spending more than economically necessary was for horses. The Old Order Amish themselves believe such expenditures are worthwhile since it pays to buy good horses, but if the criticisms of ruining good horses have any foundation some of the money spent for horses, and the sumptuous meals, might be considered the luxuries of the Amish.

A House Amish informant did not have any desire he couldn't satisfy because of lack of money, and if he unexpectedly received an additional $500 he would invest it in land somewhere or in improvements on the farm. At the time of a split between the conservative and liberal Mennonites the conservative group said, "Let the others buy cars. We will buy the land. Pretty soon we will have all the land."[132]

In discussing the problems of other farmers and of city people the feeling is general that other people want too much nowadays. They spend all their money to try to keep up with everything. They buy cars, radios, and other things which they do not need. A neighbor's hired hand who worked hard for two years and saved his money, finally spent it for a car. "Now he ain't got no money and now he is not gonna get ahead."[133] Cited as another specific case of wasteful spending was a neighbor who had $1,200 in company insurance, and between $500 and $1,000 was spent for his funeral. In contrast it was pointed out that Horse and Buggy Amish funerals cost less that $100 for grownups.[134] A recent one which was considered too expensive cost $85.

The only dissenter from this condemnation of luxuries was the liberal Mennonite who sees no virtue in work as such, and also believes farmers are entitled to all modern conveniences.[135] From a practical viewpoint, the savings, and spending a higher percent of income for strictly farming purposes, eliminate the conflict between the desire for a higher standard of living and a desire to own a farm. It cannot be ignored in explaining the success of Amish farmers.

Economic Problems. Even in the eyes of the Horse and Buggy Amish, nevertheless, economic problems of today are not overlooked. They recognize that the pressure of land and external forces endanger the continued success of their established ways.

One of their primary problems is basically related to their particular type of group life; that is, the need for good land in

[132] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 7 [133] *Ibid.*, HA8-p. 16 [134] *Ibid.*, HA8-p. 16
[135] *Ibid.*, LM3-p. 7

the community on which the large families of children can settle. Several factors explain why the Old Order Amish particularly need sufficient good land in the local area for farming: (1) The continuation of their beliefs depend on keeping children within the group so that they must have an opportunity to attain a satisfactory level of economic success in the only accepted occupation: (2) the mutual aid and assistance of children can be practiced only when the various church members live close enough for horse and buggy transportation; (3) the close family ties mean that the parents want to keep a watchful eye on the children and hence have them close by; (4) they can exert enough influence to control the school policies and subject matter only where they predominate in an area; and (5) in a group which consciously withdraws from association with all outsiders, members must live close to have any social life whatsoever.

Consequently, the Old Order Amish pay high prices for suitable farms for their children, even though the land and buildings may not be worth the cost in terms of investment. In the past, at least, the Amishers were relatively well-to-do, and other values than return on investment compensated them for the large expenditure.[136]

In fact, according to the man in charge of the Lancaster Production Credit Association the Amish who had applied for production credit loans were so heavily in debt that only small loans for urgent expenditures could be made. According to him, no Federal Land Bank loans have been made to Amish farmers because of the Land Bank limitation that land valued above $130-$140 can not be purchased with those funds under the rule of purchasing in line with real economic land values. The Amish were buying farms for $300-$400 per acre. His explanation as to why the Amish could stay on farms of such high cost was because a higher percentage of income was spent for strictly agricultural purposes and none was wasted on luxuries, rather than that they received higher income per acre than other farmers.[137]

Thus because of a desire to remain in a limited area and because large amounts of money have been available to invest in land, values have been greatly inflated and many of these farmers are now burdened down by excessive debts and heavily mortgaged

[136] The land on one farm which sold for $450 an acre was valued by an informant at approximately half that in terms of productivity; however he pointed out that the value of improvements made up the difference between the real value of the land and the cost of the farm. Kollmorgen, *Ms.*, CM2-p. 7

[137] *Ibid.*, 06-p. 2, 3

farms. The inflated land values represent potential threats to the agricultural prosperity of the community.

At least five House Amishers (HA1, HA2, HA8, HA3, HA7) felt that the pressure on land was a serious problem. One pointed out that his father had provided farms in the neighborhood for the six sons, but he was convinced he could not obtain enough farms in the nieghborhood for his sons. Another pointed out that the land is too high priced in the neighborhood, the farms are crowded, and the young people can not get the start they want. Another believed that there had always seemed to be more married couples than available farms. A Liberal Mennonite pointed out that all those who had left the area did so because of lower farm prices and hence greater economic opportunity in other areas rather than because the outside world was considered more attractive.[138]

In contrast another House Amisher does not believe that the pressure on land is as great as "some make out." Nevertheless he recognized that prices for land are too high within their community. Apparently his reason for believing the problem is not serious is that the Amish can spread to surrounding territory, move to new areas, and buy up the land of Mennonites and others in the area.[139]

A Lutheran informant living in the Older Order Amish area stated that any number of Mennonites and Amish in the neighborhood would like to buy his farm; his statement was: "If I offer this place for sale, I will have a dog's life for weeks after." He also pointed out that Amish and Mennonites put pressure on other sect members to sell only within the group. For example when an Amish farm was for sale, a certain Amishman offered money without interest to a fellow Amisher if he would buy the farm. A similar specific Mennonite case was cited where the money was loaned at 2% so the farm would stay in the church. A Liberal Mennonite also stated that the Amish wanted to buy his farm but he would not sell.[140]

One of the most satisfactory solutions to this pressure on land is group migration to other areas where good farm land is available. The movement to St. Mary's County, Maryland, was largely prompted by this motive, and one House Amisher believed hundreds more would move if the first group succeeds.[141]

Another possibility is settling on poorer land near the home community. This solution however is more dangerous because of

[138] *Ibid.*, HA1-p 1; HA2-p. 4; HA8-p. 3; LM1-p. 8
[139] *Ibid.*, 01-p. 1; LM3-p. 4
[140] *Ibid.*, 01-p. 1; LM3-p. 4
[141] *Ibid.*, HA2-p. 4

the possibilities of failure on poorer soil. Pointing out that practically all the "Englishers" on the better farms in the local area had been replaced by the Amish, one informant expected to settle his sons over the ridge in Chester County. He believed that the land there was not so good as in Lancaster County, but that it could be "built up in pretty good shape." It is significant that this informant lived in Caernarvon Township where the land was poorer than in Leacock Township—perhaps an earlier adaptation of the same type as he was now planning for his sons.[142] Another, who had bought a farm over the ridge for about $40 an acre, felt he was making a success of it—he had doubled its value since the "no-good Scotch Irish owner had never treated the land properly or kept up the buildings." Although in the past the Amish had not farmed ridge land, one raised chickens on twenty acres on a steep slope which had been cleared in the last twenty years.[143]

An Old Order Mennonite believed he could provide for his eight sons on land in Lancaster County by dividing 60-70 acre farms and intensively cultivating farms of 25 to 38 acres. The informant who pointed out that the community is much more crowded today than twenty years ago showed that this practice has already been widely adopted.[144] This solution has been used in the past, but it will not serve indefinitely as a satisfactory adjustment.

Although more vitally concerned with the problems of settling children on suitable farms, sect members also believed that external forces were increasing the problems of earning a living. Low prices for products were cited by two informants as the main reason why farmers, including themselves, were less prosperous today than fifteen years ago. Higher costs because of more machinery, specialization, use of commercial feed, etc., were blamed more than low prices by one informant. Decreased yields, high price of land and pests were other reasons given.[145]

One informant pointed out that young people, including the Amish, who want too much to start out farming, get into financial difficulties. He also believed it is easier to "go broke" in farming now than formerly because there is much greater need for cash and the need for cash makes farming more hazardous.[146] This one farmer recognized the possibilities of too great entanglement in a cash economy but, at present, the group has not yet needed to face the problem squarely.

[142] *Ibid.*, HA1-p. 1. [143] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 14; A1-p. 1. [144] *Ibid.*, HA7-p. 4
[145] *Ibid.*, HA7-p. 2; HA2-p. 5; HA8-p. 4; CA4-p. 4 [146] *Ibid.*, HA3-p. 7

The Amishers blame government restrictions, inspections, standardization, and "meddling" for some of these problems. A tobacco grower believed that the "Big Three" Tobacco firms set prices illegally. Labor unions, other farmers and city people not being willing to work and spending for luxuries, a vague complaint as to depression of prices because of imported agricultural products, wasteful competition in cities, profit of middlemen and Wall Street bankers, were other explanations as to why farmers did not receive fair prices, and farming in general was a more hazardous occupation. When the possibility of farmers organizing to obtain fair prices was presented, the Amishers believed farmers just could not organize.[147]

Thus, although the Old Order Amish recognize the problem of pressure on land, they believe the solutions formerly used by the group will continue to be satisfactory. With reference to general problems of farmers, they have not been seriously affected by low prices and higher costs because of their earlier wealth, the greater diversification of farming operations, and the purchase of few industrial products and of no luxuries. They have not rationalized regarding the problems which face all farmers because to date they have not felt serious economic insecurity.

Conclusion

The above discussion shows that the economic life of the Old Order Amish is predominantly an expression of their religion in that the Bible dictates farming as the only acceptable occupation, and only in a rural culture can many of their other precepts be practiced. The owner-operated family type farm with a wide diversification of enterprises predominates, and the farm practices could be summarized as a complex of intensified farming techniques. These techniques have been admirably suited to the soils and climate of the area. However forerunners of change may be embodied in less self-sufficient operations among all groups.

The family is the important unit of organization in this economy where there is work for all—children, adults, and older people—and farming operations are adjusted to utilize the available labor supply but limited so that outside labor is relatively unused. The gospel of hard work on the farm is so pervasive that training children at home and aiding them to get started are considered the only satisfactory life for young people. In that educa-

[147] *Ibid.*, HA7-p. 1; HA1-p. 6; HA2-p. 5; CA4-p. 4

tion challenges these beliefs, it is considered unnecessary and harmful. As an extension of the family relationships and as a direct expression of their religion, cooperation and mutual aid characterize the relationships within the group; withdrawal and distrust characterize their contacts with professional groups and farmer's associations of the outside world.

This is the economy of the Old Order Amish. It appears stable at the present time in so far as outsiders can determine. In sharp contrast, however, the more liberal Amish and Mennonite groups, which presumably adhered to the same principles in the past, now manifest definite departure from specific practices —acceptance of allied occupations, some reliance on public assistance programs, specialization of enterprises, favoring of more formal education, and failure to revere the virtue of hard work— which may lead to abrogation of the group culture or perhaps may on the other hand be the adjustments which will enable the group to survive in modified form.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1944-45

SILAS HERTZLER

For many years a statistical study of attendance in Mennonite high schools and colleges has appeared annually in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*. For the school year 1944-45, the fifteen institutions named below have sent detailed information upon which the tabulations which follow were based.

Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Grace Bible Institute, Omaha, Nebraska
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
German-English Academy, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Lancaster Mennonite School, R.F.D. 4, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn, Oklahoma
Zoar Academy and Bible School, Inman, Kansas
Immanuel Bible School, Reedley, California

A new Mennonite Brethren Bible College was opened during the year 1944-45 in Winnipeg, Manitoba. A request was sent to this school for information, but no reply was received.

Gross attendance details are given in Table I. As previously, the schools are arranged on the basis of total attendance of all sorts, including correspondence students. The Eastern Mennonite School rose to first place on this basis, with an overall attendance of 599, though 248 of these were correspondence students, and Bible students for six weeks only. The 1944-45 total for all schools, 3194, is 274 larger than for the previous year, and is 58 larger than for any preceding year since the beginning of these studies.

Table II classifies the attendance in the colleges as differentiated from high school. In 1940-41 the college attendance was 1581. This was the highest total reached for Mennonite colleges. Since that time there has been a consistent decrease each year, doubtless due to the almost complete lack of men of military age. The present

total of 1234 is 50 less than for the year 1943-44. It now seems likely that with the probable return of men students this trend will be reversed.

Table III arranges the academy or high school people by schools. The total of 1960 students not of college grade, is 324 larger than for the year immediately preceding. This total is 66 larger than for any preceding year. Since 1940-41 there has been a very rapid growth, from a low in that year of 1128. This increase seems likely to be due to a decided new interest in parochial high schools, since the beginning of World War II, growing out of the attitude of the church on military questions.

Tables IV and V make possible very interesting comparisons on the number of Mennonite and of non-Mennonite students. The number of Mennonite students increased 207 over the year 1943-44. Seventeen distinct Mennonite bodies are included in this report. The Eastern Mennonite School reports four Old Order Amish Mennonites in attendance, which is quite unusual. Thirty-two Christian churches are represented in the non-Mennonite part of the student body.

Table VI shows in detail the states, provinces and countries from which the Mennonite students come. They gave as their homes 31 states, the District of Columbia, 5 provinces of Canada, and 4 foreign countries. Non-Mennonite students, as indicated in Table VII, were at home in 23 states, in the District of Columbia, and in 2 Canadian provinces.

Table VIII lists Mennonite students of college grade. Table IX lists Mennonite students not of college grade. Both these tables are less accurate than they would have been if all the schools had reported the details needed to give correct information.

Table X gives the information that five colleges had a summer school attendance of 364 during the summer of 1944. This is a somewhat smaller attendance than for the previous summer, although one new school conducted a summer session for 18 students.

An attempt has been made to report the proportion of men and of women in the various schools. This information is given in Table XI for those schools reporting the facts.

Table XII gives comparative enrollments, by years, for the seventeen years that this study has been made. One new tabulation,

giving the total below college grade in one column, for the various years, was added this year.

Table XIII lists degrees, diplomas, and certificates from the various schools. The total number of Th. B. degrees was larger than in previous years. This degree represents three years of theological training at Goshen, based on a prerequisite of two years of general college education. At the other schools which grant the degree it represents the equivalent of a B.A. degree with a Bible major. Five other bachelor's degrees were granted at the different colleges. As in the past the B.A. degree is the one most often granted. The B.S. in Education degree was offered at one new school. Also the B.S. in Nursing was offered at three schools. The Associate in Arts diploma was introduced at Goshen. This diploma represents two years of college work, of which approximately one half is prescribed. A three year Bible diploma, presumably on the college level, was given for the first time at the Grace Bible Institute.

Table I

TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1944-45

School	College	Academy	Bible	Other Departments	Total Enrollment
Eastern Mennonite School	94[1]	257	113	135	599
Goshen College 13	410		81[2]	3[3]	507
Bethel College	209	66		76	351
Hesston College	33[6]	198	33	39	303
Bluffton College	167			60[5]	227[4]
Tabor College	163	39			202
Lancaster Mennonite School		147	45		192
German-English Academy	43	103	40[7]		186
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	35	113			148
Freeman Junior College	22	94			116
Immanuel Bible School		96			96
Grace Bible Institute	45[8]		48		93
Oklahoma Bible Academy		64	4	1	69
Corn Bible School and Academy		61			61
Zoar Academy and Bible School		16	28[9]		44
Total 13	1221	1254	392	314	3194

1 Includes all students of college grade.
2 Seventy-seven Bible students for six weeks; four full time special Bible students.
3 Correspondence students not of college grade.
4 *Bluffton College Bulletin*, March 1945, pp. 17-21.
5 Fine arts students not of college grade. *Bluffton College Bulletin*, March 1945, p. 21.
6 Correspondence students.
7 Students in Bible school.
8 Bible students of college grade.
9 Part-time night school.

Table II

ENROLLMENT BY CLASSES, COLLEGE STUDENTS, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1944-45

College	Post Graduates	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Total
Goshen	13	39	52	56	96		92[1]	75[2]	423
Bethel	2	23	36	31	68	22	27		209
Bluffton		13	10	18	36	63	27[5]		167
Tabor		13	20	24	67	24	15		163
Eastern Mennonite School		8	9	29	41	4	3		94
Grace Bible Institute						45[6]			45
German-English					43				43
Mennonite Collegiate Inst.					35				35
Hesston				7	20	6[3]			33
Freeman				4	17	1[4]			22
Total	15	96	127	169	423	165	164	75	1234

1 Spring and summer students, not counting duplicates.
2 42 Part-time students; 13 correspondence students; 20 C.P.S. students.
3 Special students; 3 correspondence students .
4 Special Bible student.
5 Not counting duplicates.
6 Classification in college not given.

Table III

ENROLLMENT BY CLASSES, STUDENTS NOT OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1944-45

School	High School Classes							
	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
E. M. S.	87	48	70	38	14[3]	113[1]	135[2]	505
Hesston	57	46	50	42		33[1]	42[5]	270
Lancaster	28	32	45	37		50[6]		192
German-English		59	35	9		40		143
Bethel	8	12	19	27			76[4]	142
M. C. I.		51	40	22				113
Immanuel		20	30	38	8			96
Freeman	17	22	33	22				94
Goshen						81	3[2]	84
Oklahoma	10	20	15	23			1[7]	69
Corn	9	19	19	14				61
Bluffton							60	60
Grace						36[9]	12[8]	48
Zoar			9	7			28[10]	44
Tabor	11	14	3	11				39
Total	227	343	368	290	22	353	357	1960

1 Six weeks Bible term students.
2 Correspondence students not of college grade.
3 5 Special high school students; 9 high school Bible students.
4 Music students not of college grade.
5 39 Correspondence students; 2 special students; 1 deferred student.
6 45 Six weeks Bible term students; 5 Bible students for the regular year.
7 1 Unspecified.
8 Part-time students.
9 Bible students not classified.
10 Night school.

Table IV

MENNONITE STUDENTS IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1944-45

Denomination	E. M. S.	Goshen	Hesston	Lancaster	Tabor	Bethel	M. C. I.	Ger. Eng.	Freeman	Immanuel	Grace Bible	Oklahoma	Corn	Zoar	Bluffton	Total
(Old) Mennonites	530	369	264	181	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5	1355
General Conference	..	4	16	..	7	155	64	126	84	1	44	69	3	..	66	639
Mennonite Brethren	1	..	..	..	137	..	70	10	12	80	4	..	54	16	..	384
Krimmer Menn. Breth.	..	..	2	..	28	1	..	..	7	10	..	..	..	25	..	73
Conservative Amish	38	1	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
Evan. Menn. Breth.	..	3	..	..	6	..	..	..	4	..	25	..	..	..	..	38
Amish Mennonite	18	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Menn. Breth. in Christ	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	17
Mennonites Unclassified	5	..	..	2	..	2	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	12
Rudnerweider	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Kleine Gemeinde	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Old Order Am. Menn.	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Central Conference	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	7
Defenseless Menn.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	7
Sommerfelder Menn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Weavertown Amish	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Swiss Mennonites	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	596	396	283	192	178	162	144	138[1]	109	92	75	69	57	44	80	2615

1 Details for forty Bible students not included.

Table V

Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges

1944-45

Denomination	Bluffton	Bethel	Goshen	Ger.-Eng.	Tabor	Hesston	Grace Bible	Freeman	Immanuel	Corn	M. C. I.	E. M. S.	Total
Not given	..	167[1]	..	40[1]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	207
Methodist	19	9	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	57
Unaffiliated	..	..	5	..	11	9	..	..	..	..	..	1	26
Brethren	2	..	22	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	27
Baptist	7	..	2	..	8	1	9	..	2	2	..	..	31
Lutheran	6	..	4	2	..	..	..	3	..	..	3	1	19
Presbyterian	17	1	10	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	30
Brethren in Christ	..	..	7	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	9
Unknown	39	2	3	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	48
Evangelical	7	1	2	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Church of God	..	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Nazarene	..	..	5	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	8
Christian	2	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Christ. Miss. Alliance	3	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	7
Congregational Christian	2	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Roman Catholic	5	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	9
Seventh Day Adventist	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
United Brethren	15	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Interdenominational	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
Reformed	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	4
Apostolic Christian	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Bible Church	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Church of Christ	6	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	8
Reformed Evangelical	8	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Assembly of God	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Christian Science	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Church of Christ in God	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Colored Methodist	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Congregational	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Episcopalian	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Madison Street Bible	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Swedenborgian	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
United Church of Canada	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Pentecostal	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
United Presbyterian	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total	147	189	111	48	24	20	18	7	4	4	4	3	579

Table VI

STATES, PROVINCES AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1944-45

	E. M. S.	Goshen	Hesston	Lancaster	Tabor	Bethel	M. C. I.	German English	Freeman	Immanuel	Grace	Oklahoma	Corn	Zoar	Bluffton	Total
Pennsylvania	213	49	3	188	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	10	467
Kansas	3	16	102	..	88	115	..	..	..	..	17	10	..	43	..	394
Virginia	190	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	196
Indiana	12	146	29	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	194
Oklahoma	..	..	1	..	20	10	..	..	..	..	5	59	56	..	..	151
Manitoba	..	..	..	..	3	..	131	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	135
Ohio	37	77	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	55	183
South Dakota	..	..	1	..	..	6	..	..	109	..	1	..	..	..	..	117
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	..	6	..	1	101	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	108
Iowa	13	13	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	62
Illinois	1	41	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	54
Oregon	3	3	33	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	47
Ontario	25	7	..	..	..	1	4	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	44
Maryland	37	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40
Nebraska	1	1	7	..	9	5	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	40
Alberta	..	..	1	..	1	..	3	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Michigan	15	10	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Minnesota	..	4	6	..	10	6	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	29
California	..	1	..	..	19	4	..	..	..	89	3	..	1	..	..	117
Colorado	2	5	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	23
North Dakota	..	..	8	..	8	..	..	..	..	2	6	..	..	..	..	24
New York	18	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
Missouri	3	1	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Idaho	..	2	8	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Montana	4	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	1	13
British Columbia	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Delaware	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
North Carolina	1	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
New Jersey	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
India	..	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Paraguay	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
West Virginia	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Mississippi	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Argentina	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Texas	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Washington	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Wisconsin	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Arkansas	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Belgium	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Dist. of Columbia	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Florida	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	596	396	283	192	178	162	144	138[1]	109	92	75	69	57	44	80	2615

[1] Details for forty Bible students not included.

Table VII

States, Provinces, and Countries from which Non-Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1944-45

	Bluffton	Bethel	Goshen	Ger.-Eng.	Tabor	Hesston	Grace	Freeman	Corn	M. C. I.	Immanuel	E. M. S.	Total
Not given	39	169	..	40	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	251
Indiana	2	..	89	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	93
Kansas	..	12	..	..	16	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	38
Nebraska	..	..	..	..	1	..	13	1	..	..	..	..	15
Pennsylvania	1	1	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Ohio	102	..	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	108
Oklahoma	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	6
Manitoba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	4
Montana	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	5
Cailfornia	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	7
Colorado	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Idaho	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Illinois	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
North Dakota	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Oregon	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Michigan	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Minnesota	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Utah	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Virginia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
West Virginia	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Dist. of Columbia	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Maryland	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Tennessee	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Washington	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Wisconsin	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
New York	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total	147	189	111	48	24	20	18	7	4	4	4	3	579

Table VIII

Mennonite Students of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1944-45

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	85	175	260[1]
Bethel	41	121	162
Tabor	49	82	131[2]
Eastern Mennonite School	30	64	94
German-English			43[3]
Grace	8	29	37
Hesston	3	32	35
Mennonite Collegiate Inst.	17	17	34
Freeman	1	19	20
Bluffton	15	30	45[1]
Total	249	569	861

[1] Summer students not included. Part-time students not included.
[2] Summer students not included.
[3] Details not given. Eight students out of a total of 186 not Mennonites.

Table IX

Mennonite Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1944-45

School	Men	Women	Total
E. M. S.	220	282	502
Hesston	100	148	248
Lancaster	64	128	192
German-English			143[2]
M. C. I.	54	56	110
Immanuel	47	45	92
Freeman	40	49	89
Goshen			83[1]
Oklahoma			69[1]
Bethel	35	31	66
Corn	18	39	57
Zoar	19	25	44
Grace	8	30	38
Tabor	9	26	35
Bluffton	6	18	24
Total	620	877	1792

[1] Detailed statistics not given.
[2] Details not given. Eight non-Mennonite students included in a total of 186.

Table X

Summer Session 1944, Mennonite Schools and Colleges

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	70	97	167
Bethel	24	59	83
Bluffton	14	53	67
Tabor	14	15	29
E. M. S.	17	1	18
Total	139	225	364[1]

[1] This includes duplicates with the regular school year.

Table XI

Total Attendance, Men and Women, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1944-45

School	Men	Women	Total
E. M. S.	252	347	599
Goshen	198	309	507
Bethel	110	241	351
Hesston	112	191	303
Bluffton	64	163	227
Tabor	68	134	202
Lancaster	64	128	192
German-English			186[1]
M. C. I.	73	75	148
Freeman	44	72	116
Immanuel	49	47	96
Grace	24	69	93
Oklahoma			69[1]
Corn	19	42	61
Zoar	19	25	44
Total	1096	1843	3194

[1] Detailed statistics not given.

Table XII

Comparative Enrollment Statistics, 1928-1945

Year	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Below College Grade	Total
1928-29	1025	513	847	569	...	122	691	1538
1929-30	1259	708	1085	609	...	273	882	1967
1930-31	1515	665	1234	710	110	126	946	2180
1931-32	1337	591	944	522	259	203	984	1928
1932-33	1135	538	906	416	277	74	767	1673
1933-34	1259	476	921	348	402	64	814	1735
1934-35	1742	530	1025	550	502	195	1247	2272
1935-36	2274	574	1151	1050	470	177	1697	2848
1936-37	2640	496	1242	948	800	146	1894	3136
1937-38	2258	680	1431	821	542	144	1507	2938
1938-39	2221	586	1447	690	530	140	1360	2807
1939-40	2164	628	1560	808	308	116	1236	2792
1940-41	2101	608	1581	688	343	97	1128	2709
1941-42	2218	600	1494	887	294	143	1324	2818
1942-43	2536	424	1341	1063	383	173	1619	2960
1943-44	2408	512	1284	1161	220	255	1636	2920
1944-45	2615	579	1234	1254	392	314	1960	3194

Table XIII

*Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1944-45

Title	Goshen	Bethel	Bluffton	Tabor	E. M. S.	Grace	Hesston	Freeman	Ger.-Eng.	M. C. I.	Lancaster	Oklahoma	Corn	Zoar	Total
Th. B.	11	..	..	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
B. A.	33	18	12	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	72
B. S. in Education	13	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
B. S. in Home Economics	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
B. S. in Nursing	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
B. S. in Com. and Eco.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Three year Bible	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Junior College	..	..	..	13	10	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Junior College Bible	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
A. A.	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Two year Dip. in Theology	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Two year normal	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Christian Workers (one year)	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
One year normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
One year Secretarial	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Academy	..	2	..	10	84	..	57	17	..	31	26	8	9	..	244
Elementary Bible (3 years)	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	28
Elementary Bible (2 years)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	9	13
Winter Bible School	10	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Total	80	28	13	36	132	3	62	31		31	28	10	28	9	491

[1] No report.

BOOK REVIEWS

Annals of the Conestoga Valley. By C. Z. Mast and Robert E. Simpson. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Printed by Mennonite Publishing House, 1941. Pp. 689. Price, $2.00.

This book, compiled by two local, lifelong historians, covers a period of about two hundred and twenty-five years. It begins with the early decades of the 18th century and treats a geographical area in southeastern Pennsylvania which includes two townships and part of a third in Berks, Lancaster, and Chester Counties. In brief it is a reference work that contains virtually all the obtainable records on the churches, schools, cemeteries, mansions, inns, mills, quarries, lime-kilns, forges, mines, etc., which have been landmarks in the Conestoga Valley for the past two centuries. However, it is more than just a record of the outward symbols of a community's life, for a large part of the volume is taken up with sketches of some sixty families and individuals that sometime or other lived here. In its pages are found much of the historic lore and legend that have accumulated since the days when this area was a frontier in Penn's colony.

Part I is the work of the genealogist, C. Z. Mast. In its 414 pages he tells the story of the churches: Episcopal, Presbyterian, Mennonite, Amish Mennonite (Old Order and Church), Methodist, Lutheran, Reformed, Evangelical, Congregational, United Brethren, and Baptist. Next follows material on the numerous Amish Mennonite families: Miller, Zug (Zook), Schmucker (Smoker), Kurtz, Hertzler, Kauffman, Lapp, Stoltzfus, Fisher, Koenig (King), Beiler, Esch, Hooley, Schantz (Johns), Mast, Yoder, Nafzinger, Blank, and Plank.

The chapters on the churches, and in particular those on the families, constitute a collection of exceedingly valuable data, and in themselves present a good reason why this volume should be in the library of the Mennonite historian and genealogist.

In the chapters that sketch the families a fairly consistent manner of presentation is followed. Frequently the old world background in Germany or Switzerland is referred to, and the reasons for migration are occasionally mentioned. The date of arrival in America (in most cases between 1720 and 1770) is given for nearly every family, together with the name of the boat that brought them. The place of settlement follows, and with this the date of the land patent and the size of the original grant. Where possible further data are given on the early life of the pioneers, mention being made of such things as their experiences with the Indians, migrations from one settlement to another, and Revolutionary War experiences. The lists of descendants of these early immigrants of the Amish Mennonite faith are given considerable space, and their distribution throughout Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Tennessee, North Carolina, and other states is recorded.

Other chapters of Part I are somewhat of a repository of local lore about personalities of the past, the numerous mills, lime-kilns and quarries that once flourished, the story of the famous Conestoga horse, and old landmarks of the valley. Of particular interest and value is the diary of a storekeeper in Morgantown who records his observations of the community between 1837 and 1844, and makes frequent reference to the Amish or "Germans." No less interesting are the letters from the frontier that were written by former inhabitants of the valley who migrated to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and California.

Part II is the work of Robert Simpson, a schoolteacher in the valley for forty-four years, and a member of the Methodist Church. Simpson devotes a long chapter to education in the valley, tracing in considerable detail the story from the first Episcopal school, which was started by the early Welsh settlers in a loghouse around 1740. Following the period of private education is the account of the township schools that are now to be seen in the valley. Among these schools is the "Little Red Schoolhouse," featured in *Life* and *National Geographic Magazine* within recent years. This school is referred to in *Henner's Lydia* by Marguerite de Angeli.

Chapters follow that tell of the early network of roads over which the Conestoga wagons traveled during the colonial, Revolutionary, and early national era. These wagons were freighted with produce from the valley: crude ore from the iron mines on its way to furnaces, pig iron from the furnace to the forge, charcoal from the furnace to the forge, and the finished product on its way to Philadelphia and thence to England.

Negroes and slavery in the valley comprise a chapter, and it is of note that the Amish and Mennonite names are conspicuously absent from the list of slaveholders. Local citizens can appreciate the full accounts of the old mansions, many still standing, that date from 1738 and later. These mansions were built by the Welsh and English settlers and their descendants, and are well-preserved after nearly two centuries. Simpson's chapters on nearly forty families are confined to those inhabitants of the valley who were not of Amish or Mennonite faith. The remainder of his portion of the book tells of the old gristmills (only two now in full operation), and of the history and activities of his native Churchtown, and he devotes considerable space to miscellaneous collections of data, such as the lists of soldiers (Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Civil War) in the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist graveyards, as well as to lore about inns, mines, mansions, and persons associated with them.

The book is intended for the average lay reader, and as such has gained a wider reception than its authors anticipated. About one hundred and fifty pictures, a number of them quite good, give life to the book and give the reader a fine impression of the farms and countryside, the churches, schools, graveyards, mills, mansions, inns, etc., described in the pages of the work. Many pictures of persons are also included. Unfortunately the book lacks an index. Such items as John F. Funk's letter of 1927, on pages 179 and 180, with its light on the founding of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church, and the biographical sketch of the late Lancaster Mennonite historian, M. G. Weaver, on pages 574 and 575, could be easily missed by the average student consulting this work.

The value of this work on local history is not limited to the present inhabitants of the vicinity in old Conestoga, nor to the scattered descendants of the early settlers, though for the most part these persons are its chief readers. There remains a value in the book which awaits the work of the trained historian and sociologist to bring out. This significance has not been entirely overlooked, for this valley has been included in a number of scientific works whose authors consulted Mast and Simpson before the latter had completed their book. Emil Meynen in his "Das pennsylvaniendeutsche Bauernland" in *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung*, II (July, 1939), 253-92, makes reference to this area, having visited it when his study was made. Hans von Wassielewski of the geography department of Tuebingen University in Germany did part of his graduate field work in this valley, residing in an Old Order Amish home during the summer of 1932.

More recent attention to this valley was given by Dr. Walter M. Kollmorgen of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. In the summer of 1940 he made a study of the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County as one of a series of six contemporary rural community studies, the other communities being studied by other social scientists of the Bureau in New Hampshire, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, and New Mexico. Dr. Kollmorgen's study took him frequently into the history and background of Conestoga Valley which he often visited. His findings have been published by the Bureau as *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Rural Life Studies No. 4)*. In the introduction to this study Dr. Carl Taylor notes that this community represents the most stable of the six studies. (See July, 1943, MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW for a review of this work.) An abstract of the monograph appeared in the November, 1943, issue of *The American Journal of Sociology* entitled "The Agricultural Stability of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." C. Henry Smith's book on *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* in its chapter on the Amish contains material similar to that in *The Annals of Conestoga Valley.*

A map in the beginning of the book shows the original grants to have been given to persons of Welsh names such as Ellis, Morgan, Hughes, Bowen, Davies, Hudson, Jenkins and Evans. Of significance to the sociologist is the fact that virtually all of the large original grants of this limestone area are now in the hands of another cultural group, the descendants of German peasants (the Hertzlers, Masts, Stoltzfuses, Zooks, etc.) who have reduced the size of the holdings, practiced a diversified agriculture, and established a stable community oriented around pro-rural, anti-urban values. These values are strongly re-enforced by religious sanctions and only as the religious faith of the people is given its highly important place will the account of this Pennsylvania-German community approach a true one. Environmental determinism and economic determinism, it has been pointed out, do not adequately explain the population displacement of the English-speaking farmer by the German-speaking farmer in Pennsylvania's agricultural history.

Besides being an example of "the significance of cultural considerations in farming enterprises" and the "economic consequences of religious faith" this valley and its people deserve study and note as the first permanent Amish Mennonite settlement in America. The *Annals of the Conestoga Valley* contains and suggests much of value concerning both the Old Order Amish and the more liberal "church" Amish who since about 1880 have been a separate, less strict body, and are now a part of the Ohio and Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference.

Morgantown, Pa. *Grant M. Stoltzfus.*

History of the Brethren in Christ Church. By A. W. CLIMENHAGA, PH.D., Dean of Messiah Bible College. Nappanee, Indiana: E. V. Publishing House. 1942. Pp. 390. $2.00.

The Brethren in Christ, originally known as River Brethren, had much in common, in both faith and practice, with the Mennonites and Dunkards throughout their history, due largely to the fact that one of their founders, and for many years their outstanding leader, Jacob Engle, had originally been a Mennonite, while several of the other co-founders had Dunkard connections. The beliefs and practices of the Brethren in Christ Church in its early history were so nearly identical with those of these two denominations that one cannot deny a very close connection. Such recent additions, of course, as sanctification, holiness, and several other distinctive teachings of a later date did not have a Mennonite or Dunkard source.

The movement resulting in the founding of the new religious group had its inception in the evangelical religious awakening that swept through Pennsylvania and Virginia during the period of the Revolutionary War, and which attracted from all the Protestant churches of the time such as were especially susceptible to the appeals of the revivalist influence, including a small number of Mennonites and Dunkards. From the same source came also Martin Boehm, a Mennonite minister of Lancaster County, Pa., who, together with William Otterbein of the German Reformed Church, became one of the founders of the present United Brethren Church.

For this reason it would seem to the present reviewer that there would be little occasion to call attention to the Pietist, Moravian, Anabaptist, and other medieval and early modern religious groups, as having any direct bearing on the origin of the Brethren in Christ denomination. Jacob Engle perhaps never heard of the Waldensians and other early sects.

The whole story of the origin of the denomination and its spread across the country during the past one hundred and fifty years is sympathetically and interestingly told in all its details by Dr. Climenhaga, who like many Mennonite historians of recent date, began his study of this subject originally as a doctoral dissertation.

Although small as to numbers, with a membership of approximately 7,000, the Brethren in Christ church is well institutionalized. It owns its own publishing house, several colleges and Bible schools, old people's homes, and several mission stations, both home and foreign, with a total property value of three quarters of a million dollars.

The oldest and largest of these mission stations is the one in South Africa. Interesting is the remark made by Cecil Rhodes, the empire builder, to the founder of this station in his search for a suitable location, "Missionaries are better than policemen and cheaper."

Although ultra-conservative in their religious practices, the Brethren have kept step with the general progress of the times, and like the Mennonites, have changed with the spirit of the age in those matters that did not compromise the fundamentals of their faith. In the process of the change, however, they suffered two major divisions, one to the right which withdrew from the main body in 1843, and is known as the "Yorkers"; and a left wing which in 1853 wanted to worship in a church contrary to the prevailing custom of the time, and now is called "United Zion's Children."

Dr. Climenhaga summarizes the faith of this church as follows:

> The Church teaches justification by faith, holiness and empowerment, divine healing, trine immersion, washing the saints' feet, holy kiss, nonresistance, Scriptural

veiling, and the general resurrection of the dead. Only such who profess a knowledge of saving grace are baptized and taken into the Church as communicant members. All the women members wear the prayer veiling, and are known as sisters. The men are known as brethren and are expected, like the sisters, not to conform to worldly practices and customs in business or pleasure which are not considered in keeping with the teachings of Jesus. Love feasts and communion services are held in the Church at least once a year.

Bluffton College — *C. Henry Smith.*

Memoirs of J. W. Kliewer: or From Herdboy to College President. Published by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, 1943. 150 pages. $10.00.

John W. Kliewer was born in a German Mennonite community in Russian Poland, June 8, 1869. In 1874 his parents came to Kansas, locating east of Newton, where he grew to maturity. He attended the Mennonite Seminary at Halstead, Kansas, Bethel College, and Garrett Biblical Institute, where he graduated in 1901.

He served as pastor of Mennonite churches in Wadsworth, Ohio, and Berne, Indiana, before becoming president of Bethel College in 1911. Nine years later he resigned his presidency and shortly after made a world tour in which he visited the mission fields of his denomination in China and India and the Mennonite churches of Europe. From 1925 to 1932 he again served as president of Bethel College. After his resignation, he was pastor of the Bethel College church until, in 1935, his health no longer permitted him to continue this work. During his last few years, following his retirement, he wrote his memoirs. He died February 9, 1938.

Because of the important role Dr. Kliewer played in the development of Bethel College and in the history of the General Conference Mennonite Church, any study of these institutions should take into account the interpretations the writer presents in his memoirs. Although his friends spoke of him as a kindly man of soft words, one discovers in this book helpful, critical evaluations of his contemporaries and fellow workers. The faculty and presidents of Bethel College, as well as leaders in his church conference, are appraised and in several instances their weaknesses are treated frankly.

The materials in the book are arranged topically. Chapters are devoted to his pioneer years in America, getting an education, his work in the ministry, conference work, foreign missions, peace and temperance, and Bethel College. These subjects suggest the chief interests of his life. He served on the Foreign Mission Board for twenty-seven years, most of the time as president. The reader concludes that one of the most enjoyable periods of his life was the eight year pastorate of the Berne, Indiana, Mennonite Church. There he also engaged in the temperance struggle of that community, although he at the same time tried to maintain peace between the two factions. His work for peace and in behalf of the drafted men in World War I also occupied much of his thought and service.

At the time when the struggle between Fundamentalism and Modernism was intense in American Protestant circles, Dr. Kliewer's position was the following:

> But I also refuse to be called a fundamentalist because that term implies the opposition to modernism in a way I could not support either, so that is my reason for refusing to be called either fundamentalist or modernist. I share the fundamental attitude of the Mennonite Church, but I refuse to be called by the name, modernist. It seems to

me that above all others, Mennonites should remain true to their insistence upon freedom of conscience and personal conviction as being the basis for one's religious faith and attitudes and the dictum of any special group or church.

As a college administrator, he had misgivings concerning his qualifications for that office. He did not enjoy collecting money, and he believed that the breakdown of his health came as a result of the financial duties that were his as president of Bethel College. As a leader of the school, he found it necessary to take sides in the controversies that arose concerning the administration of the institution. There were those who opposed the program of preparing Bethel for entrance into the North Central Association of Colleges. He wrote,

"I gradually became convinced that it would take a dynamic person to push an unpopular cause like this. I tried to resign from my position to make room for another person who would carry the thing to success where I had failed to succeed. The matter, however, was dropped for the time being."

In the spring of 1932 his resignation was accepted and Dr. Ed. G. Kaufman became his successor.

His interest, however, remained with the college and he dedicated his memoirs to Bethel. In addition, President Kaufman in the Introduction informs the reader that "Dr. Kliewer has kindly consented to have the school use the manuscript in memory of its donor and for the benefit of Bethel College by selling the book at ten dollars a copy, all of which is to be added to the College Endowment Fund to establish the *Dr. and Mrs. J. W. Kliewer Memorial Chair for Peace and Missions.*"

Chapter X of the book consists of a collection of short letters written by Bethel College alumni in appreciation for the services rendered by Dr. Kliewer. The final chapter is his obituary. His picture appears in the front of the book.

It is hoped that this volume will be followed by many other equally interesting and readable memoirs of Mennonite leaders. These men are reluctant to furnish materials for biographies to be printed in their life time. But their objections should not prevent them from writing their memoirs to be printed after they are no longer living. Such books enrich the study and teaching of church history and inspire generations to come.

Bethel College —*Melvin Gingerich.*